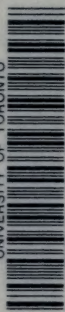


OLD PROVENÇAL

Cath Grandgent

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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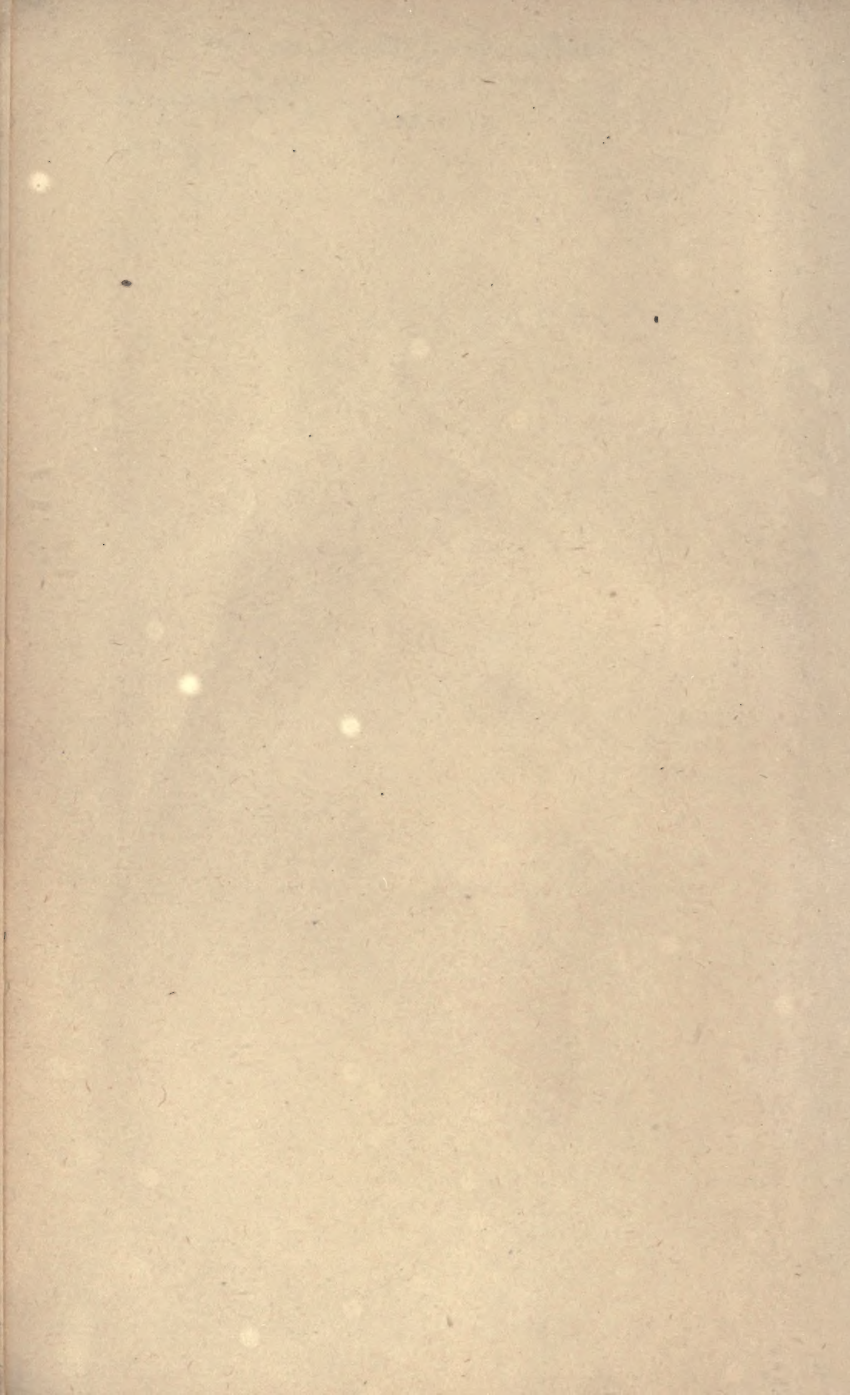
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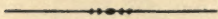
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AN OUTLINE
OF THE
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY
OF
OLD PROVENÇAL

BY
C. H. GRANDGENT
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY



BOSTON, U. S. A.
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1905

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PHYSIOLOGY AND ANATOMY



AN OUTLINE

PHYSIOLOGY AND ANATOMY

OF THE HUMAN BODY

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PREFACE.

THIS book, which is intended as a guide to students of Romance Philology, represents the result of desultory labors extending through a period of twenty years. My first introduction to the scientific pursuit of Provençal linguistics was a course given by Paul Meyer at the École des Chartes in the winter of 1884-85. Since then I have been collecting material both from my own examination of texts and from the works of those philologists who have dealt with the subject. Besides the large Grammars of the Romance Languages by Diez and by Meyer-Lübke, I have utilized H. Suchier's *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache* (in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I, 561), the *Introduzione grammaticale* in V. Crescini's *Manualetto provenzale*, the *Abriss der Formenlehre* in C. Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, and many special treatises to which reference will be made in the appropriate places. Conscious of many imperfections in my work, I shall be grateful for corrections.

I have confined myself to the old literary language, believing that to be of the greatest importance to a student of Romance Philology or of Comparative Literature, and fearing lest an enumeration of modern forms, in addition to the ancient, might prove too bewildering. I should add that neither my own knowledge nor the material at my disposal is adequate to a satisfactory presentation of the living idioms

of southern France. These dialects have, however, been investigated for the light they throw on the geographical distribution of phonetic variations; my chief source of information has been F. Mistral's monumental *Dictionnaire provençal-français*. Catalan and Franco-Provençal have been considered only incidentally. I have not dealt with word-formation, because one of my students is preparing a treatise on that subject.

Readers desiring a brief description of Provençal literature are referred to H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, pp. 56-96; A. Stimming, in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, ii, pp. 1-69; and A. Restori, *Letteratura provenzale*. For a more extended account of the poets they should consult *Die Poesie der Troubadours* and the *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* by F. Diez; and *The Troubadours at Home* by J. H. Smith. The poetic ideals are discussed by G. Paris in *Romania*, XII, pp. 516-34; and with great fulness by L. F. Mott in *The System of Courtly Love*. The beginnings of the literature are treated by A. Jeanroy in his *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, reviewed by G. Paris in a series of important articles in the *Journal des Savants* (November and December, 1891, and March and July, 1892) reprinted separately in 1892 under the same title as Jeanroy's book. Contributions by A. Restori to several volumes of the *Rivista musicale italiana* deal with Provençal music; some tunes in modern notation are to be found in J. H. Smith's *Troubadours at Home*, and in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CX (New Series X), 110 (E. Bohn). Aside from the editions of individual poets, the best collections of verses are those of C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*; V. Crescini, *Manualetto provenzale*; and K. Bartsch, *Chresto-*

mathie provençale. Earlier and larger anthologies are M. Raynouard's *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, and C. A. F. Mahn's *Werke der Troubadours* and *Gedichte der Troubadours*. The only dictionary of importance for the old language is the *Lexique roman* (six volumes) of M. Raynouard, augmented by the *Supplement-Wörterbuch* of E. Levy (now appearing in instalments). The poetic language of the present day can be studied to advantage in E. Koschwitz's *Grammaire historique de la langue des Félibres*.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., NOVEMBER, 1904.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS.

- Abl.:** ablative.
- Acc.:** accusative.
- Cl.L.:** Classic Latin.
- Cond.:** conditional.
- Cons.:** consonant.
- Einf.:** W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1901.
- F.:** feminine.
- Fr.:** French.
- Free (of vowels):** not in position.
- Fut.:** future.
- Gram.:** W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, 3 vols., 1890-1900.
- Grundriss:** G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 2 vols., 1888-1902.
- Imp.:** imperfect.
- Imper.:** imperative.
- Intertonic (of vowels):** following the secondary and preceding the primary accent.
- Intervocalic (of consonants):** standing between two vowels.
- It.:** Italian.
- Körting:** G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., 1901.
- Lat.:** Latin.
- Levy:** E. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, 1894—.
- Ltblt.:** *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, monthly, Leipzig.
- M.:** masculine.
- Nom.:** nominative.
- Obj.:** objective (case).
- Part.:** participle.
- Perf.:** perfect.
- Pers.:** person.
- Phon.:** P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français pré littéraire*, 1901.
- Pl.:** plural.
- Pr.:** Provençal.
- Pres.:** present.
- Pret.:** preterit.
- Raynouard:** M. Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, 6 vols., 1836-44.
- Rom.:** *Romania*, quarterly, Paris.
- Sg.:** singular.
- V.L.:** Vulgar Latin.
- Voc.:** H. Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 3 vols., 1866-68.
- Voiced (of consonants):** sonant, pronounced with vibration of the glottis.
- Voiceless (of consonants):** surd, pronounced without glottal vibration.
- Vow.:** vowel.
- Zs.:** *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 to 6 nos. a year, Halle.

SIGNS AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS.

N. B.—Phonetic characters not entered in this list are to be pronounced as in Italian. Whenever it is essential to distinguish spelling from pronunciation, *italic* type is used for the former, Roman for the latter.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (under a vowel): close quality. ◌ (under a vowel): open quality. — (over a vowel): long quantity. ◌ (over a vowel): short quantity. ◌ (under a letter): semivowel, not syllabic. ˈ (over a letter): stress. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ˈ (after a consonant): palatal pronunciation. [found.] * (before a word): conjectural, not > (between words or letters): derivation, the <i>source</i> standing at the <i>open</i> end. + : followed by. |
|--|--|

- ɑ: French *â* in *pâte*.
- ɑ: French *a* in *patte*.
- β: bilabial *v*, as in Spanish.
- c: see k.
- c': palatal *k*, as in English *key*.
- ð: English *th* in *this*.
- ɛ: French *é* in *thé*.
- ɛ: French *ê* in *fête*.
- g: English *g* in *go*.
- g': palatal *g*, as in English *geese*.
- h: English *h* in *hat*.
- i: French *i* in *si*.
- i: English *ɪ* in *pit*.
- k: English *k* in *maker*.
- k': see c'.
- l': palatal *l*, as in Italian *figlio*.

- n': palatal *n*, as in Italian *ogni*.
- ŋ: English *ng* in *sing*.
- o: German *ō*, as in *sohn*.
- o: German *ö*, as in *sonne*.
- r': palatal *r*.
- š: English *sh* in *ship*.
- þ: English *th* in *thin*.
- ʉ: German *ü*, as in *gut*.
- ʏ: German *ü*, as in *butter*.
- ü: French *u* in *pur*.
- w: English *w* in *woo*.
- χ: German *ch* in *ach*.
- y: English *y* in *ye*.
- z: English *z* in *crazy*.
- ž: French *j* in *jour*.



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AN OUTLINE OF THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF OLD PROVENÇAL.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The language here studied is, in the main, that used by the poets of Southern France during the 12th and 13th centuries. The few works that we have earlier than the 12th century must, of course, be utilized for such information as they afford concerning the process of linguistic change; and lacking words or forms must occasionally be sought in writings later than the 13th. Prose literature, moreover, should not be neglected, as it greatly enlarges our vocabulary and throws much light on local divergences. The modern dialects need be cited only to determine the geographical distribution of variations.

2. The extent of the Provençal territory is sufficiently indicated by the map on p. viii. The upper black line separates Provençal on the northwest and north from French, on the northeast from Franco-Provençal; on the east are the Gallo-Italic dialects. The lower black line divides Provençal on the southwest from Basque, on the south from Spanish, on the southeast from Catalan. The boundary line between French and Provençal must be determined somewhat arbitrarily, as there is no distinct natural division; the several linguistic characteristics of each idiom do not end at the

same point, and thus one language gradually shades into the other. The line shown on the map is based on the development of free accented Latin *a*, which remains *a* in Provençal, but is changed to *e* in French. The limits of other phonetic phenomena may be found in Suchier's maps at the back of Vol. I of Gröber's *Grundriss*. There may be seen also a large map showing the place of Provençal among the Romance languages. Consult, furthermore, P. Meyer in *Romania*, XXIV, 529.

3. The Spanish and Gallo-Italic frontiers are more clearly defined, and Basque is entirely distinct. Franco-Provençal and Catalan, on the other hand, are closely related to Provençal and not always easy to divide from it. Catalan, in fact, is often classed as a Provençal dialect; but it is sufficiently different to be studied separately. Franco-Provençal, rated by some philologists as an independent language, has certain characteristics of Provençal and certain features of French, but more of the latter; in some respects it is at variance with both. The Gascon, or southwest, dialects of Provençal differ in many ways from any of the others and present not a few similarities to Spanish¹; they will, however, be included in our study.

4. The Provençal domain embraces, then, the following old provinces: Provence, Languedoc, Foix, part of Béarn, Gascony, Guyenne, Limousin, most of Marche, Auvergne, the southwestern half of Lyonnais and the southern half of Dauphiné. The native speech in this region varies considerably from place to place, and the local dialects are, for convenience, roughly grouped under the names of the provinces; it should be remembered, however, that the political

¹ See E. Bourciez, *les Mots espagnols comparés aux mots gascons*.

and the linguistic boundaries rarely coincide. For some of the principal dialect differences, see §§ 8 and 10-13.

5. The old poets frequently called their language *lemost*; and, in fact, the foundation of their literary idiom is the speech of the province of Limousin and the adjacent territory on the north, west, and southwest.¹ The supremacy of this dialect group is apparently due to the fact that it was generally used for composition earlier than any of the others: popular song, in all probability, had its home in the borderland of Marche²; religious literature in the vulgar tongue developed in the monasteries of this region; the artistic lyric was cultivated, we know, at the court of Ventadour, and it must have found favor at others. Furthermore, many of the leading troubadours belonged by birth or residence to the Limousin district.

6. The troubadours' verses, as we have them, seldom represent any one dialect in its purity. The poet himself was doubtless influenced both by literary tradition and by his particular local usage, as well as by considerations of rhyme and metre. Moreover, his work, before reaching us, passed through the hands of various intermediaries, who left upon it traces of their own pronunciation. It should be said, also, that the Limousin was not a single dialect, but a group of more or less divergent types of speech. For these reasons we must not expect to find in Provençal a uniform linguistic standard.

7. Neither was there a generally accepted system of orthography. When the vulgar tongue was first written, the

¹ See C. Chabaneau, *la Langue et la littérature du Limousin*, in the *Revue des langues romanes*, XXXV, 379.

² See G. Paris, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*.

Roman letters were used with approximately the same values that they had in Latin, as it was then pronounced. As the Provençal sounds changed, there was a conflict between the spellings first established and new notations based on contemporary speech. Furthermore, many Provençal vowels and consonants had no equivalents in Latin; for these we find a great variety of representations. The signs are very often ambiguous: for instance, *c* before *e* or *i* (as in *cen*, *cinc*) generally stands in the first texts for *ts*, in the more recent ones for *s*, the pronunciation having changed; *z* between vowels in early times usually means *dz* (*plazer*), but later *z* (*roza*); *i* between vowels (*maiór*) indicates either *y* or *dž* (English *j*), according to the dialect; a *g* may signify "hard" *g* (*gerra*), *dž* ("soft" *g*: *ges*), or *tš* (English *ch*: *mieg*). It is probable that for a couple of centuries diphthongs were oftenest written as simple vowels.

8. Some features of the mediæval pronunciation are still obscure. The close *o* was transformed, either during or soon after the literary epoch, into *u* (the sound of French *ou*); hence, when we meet in a late text such a word as *flor*, we cannot be certain whether it is to be sounded *flor* or *flur*. We do not know at what time Latin *ū* in southern France took the sound *ü* (French *u*): some suppose that it was during or shortly before the literary period; if this be true, the letter *u* (as in *tu*, *mur*) may represent in some texts *u*, in others *ü*. In diphthongs and triphthongs whose first element is written *u* (*cuer*, *fuolha*, *nueu*, *buou*), this letter came to be pronounced in most of the dialects like French *u* in *huit*, while in others it retained the sound of French *ou* in *oui*; we cannot tell exactly when or where, in ancient times, this development occurred. In the diphthongs *ue*, *uo* (*lucc*, *fuoc*), opinions disagree as to which vowel originally bore the

stress; subsequent changes seem to indicate that in the 12th and 13th centuries the practice varied in the different dialects. Old Provençal must have had in some words a peculiar type of r, which was sufficiently palatal in its articulation to call for an i-glide before it (*esclairar*); we do not know precisely how it was formed; in most regions it probably was assimilated to the more usual r as early as the 12th century. The š and ž (palatal s and z) apparently ranged, in the several dialects, between the sounds of French *ch* and *j* on the one hand, and those of German *ch* (in *ich*) and *j* (in *ja*) on the other; the former types were largely assimilated, doubtless by the 13th century, to s and z (*pois, maisó*), the latter were not (*poih, maió*).

9. The following table comprises the Old Provençal sounds with their usual spellings, the latter being arranged, as nearly as may be, in the order of their frequency. Diphthongs and triphthongs are included in the vowel list, compound consonants in the consonant table. For an explanation of the phonetic symbols, see p. vii. The variant pronunciations are discussed in § 8.

VOWELS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
a	a	pan
a	a	car
ai	ai, ay	paire, cays
au	au	autre
e	e	pena
e	e	cel
ei	ei, ey	vei, veyre
ei	ei, ey	seis, teysser
eu	eu	beure
eu	eu	breu
i	i, y	amic, ydola

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
ię	<i>ie, e</i>	<i>quier, velh</i>
ięi	<i>iei, iey, ei</i>	<i>ieis, lieys, leit</i>
ięu	<i>ieu, eu</i>	<i>mieu, deus</i>
ių	<i>iu</i>	<i>estiu</i>
o (or u)	<i>o, u</i>	<i>corre, sun</i>
o	<i>o</i>	<i>cors</i>
oi	<i>oi, oy</i>	<i>conoisser, oyre</i>
oi	<i>oi, oy</i>	<i>pois, poyssán</i>
ou	<i>ou</i>	<i>dous</i>
ou	<i>ou</i>	<i>mou</i>
u: see o, ü		
ü (or u?)	<i>u</i>	<i>mut</i>
ueę, üę	<i>ue, o?</i>	<i>cuec, olh?</i>
ueię, üięi	<i>uei, uey, oi?</i>	<i>cueissa, pueyssas, oit?</i>
ueęu, üęu	<i>ueu, ou?</i>	<i>nueu, bou?</i>
üi	<i>ui, uy</i>	<i>cuit, duy</i>
uoę, üoę	<i>uo, o</i>	<i>gruoc, folha</i>
uoię, üoięi	<i>uoi, oi</i>	<i>puoi, noit</i>
uoęu, üoęu	<i>uou, ou</i>	<i>pluou, ou</i>

CONSONANTS.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
b	<i>b, bb</i>	<i>bel, abbat</i>
d	<i>d</i>	<i>don</i>
dz	<i>z, c</i>	<i>plazer, dicén</i>
dž	<i>i, g, tg, gg, ti, tgi, ih</i>	<i>ioc, gen, paratge, viagge, coratie, lotgiar, puihar</i>
đ	<i>d</i>	<i>veder</i>
f	<i>f, fh</i>	<i>fer, phizica</i>
g	<i>g, gu</i>	<i>gras, guan, guerra</i>
h (Gascon)	<i>h, f?</i>	<i>ham, fe?¹</i>
k	<i>c, qu, k, g</i>	<i>cais, quar, quer, ki, longs²</i>
l	<i>l, ll</i>	<i>leu, belleza</i>

¹ This h (coming from f) is peculiar to Gascon; the other dialects have no h.

² G, b, d are sounded k, p, t only at the end of a word or before a final s.

SOUND.	SPELLINGS.	EXAMPLES.
ɣ	<i>lh, ill, ilh, ll, l, il, yl, yll, li</i>	<i>fuelha, meillor, failha, vellar, viel, voil, fyl, fayllentia, filia</i>
m	<i>m̄, mm</i>	<i>mes, commanda</i>
n	<i>n, nn</i>	<i>nas, annat</i>
n'	<i>nh, gn, inh, ign, ing, innh, ingn, ngn, nn, n, in, ng, ynh, ni, ny, nyh</i>	<i>cenher, plagner, poinh, seignor, soing, poinnher, fraingner, ongnimen, vinna, franén, soin, sengor, poynh, lenia, senyoria, senyhor</i>
ŋ	<i>n</i>	<i>lonc</i>
p	<i>p̄, p̄p̄, b̄</i>	<i>prop, apparer, obs¹</i>
r	<i>r</i>	<i>rire</i>
r'	<i>r</i>	<i>cuer</i>
rr	<i>rr</i>	<i>terra²</i>
s	<i>s, ss, c, ç, x</i>	<i>sap, fassa, cenat, ça, locx</i>
š	<i>ss, s, sh, h, hs</i>	<i>faissa, cais, pueysh, Foih, faihs</i>
t	<i>t, tt, d</i>	<i>tot, atténir, nud¹</i>
ts	<i>c, z, tz, ç, gz, cz, ti</i>	<i>cel, faz, parlatz, ço, fagz, czo, fayllentia³</i>
tš	<i>ch, g, ich, ig, h, gz</i>	<i>chan, plag, ueich, faig, lah, gaugz⁴</i>
v	<i>u</i> (printed <i>v</i>)	<i>ven</i>
y	<i>i, y</i>	<i>gabia, preyar</i>
z	<i>s, z, ç</i>	<i>pausa, roza, riçia (< ridōbat)</i>
ž	<i>s, z, i</i>	<i>raso, poizo, maio</i>

10. The Gascon group presents certain striking divergences from the other dialects: (1) it shows a *b* corresponding to Provençal *v*, as in *be* = *ve* < *vēnit*, *abetz* = *avetz* < *habētis*; (2) it substitutes *r* for *l* between vowels, as in *bera* = *bela* < *bēlla*; (3) it changes initial *f* to *h*, as in *he* = *fe* < *fīdem*. Other Gascon peculiarities are less ancient, less general, or less important.

¹ *G, b, d* are sounded *k, p, t* only at the end of a word or before a final *s*.

² *Rr* is generally distinguished from *r*, but there are a few examples of their confusion in rhyme.

³ *Ts* is usually written *c* at the beginning of a word, *z* or *tz* at the end.

⁴ *G* has the sound of *tš* only at the end of a word or combined with final *z*.

11. Some distinctions may be pointed out between the speech of the north and that of the south:—

(1) Latin *ca* and *ga*, either at the beginning of a word or after a consonant, became respectively *tša* and *dža* in the northern dialects¹, and remained unchanged in the southern: *canto* > *chan can*, *lōnga* > *lonia longa*.

(2) Latin *ct* and *gd* became *it* and *id* in most of the north and in the southwest¹, *tš* and *dž* in most of the south and in the northwest²: *factum* > *fait fach*, *frig(i)da* > *freida freia*. *Nct* became *int*, *nt*, *n'*, *ntš* in different regions: *sanctum* > *saint sant sanh sanch*. *Cs* (Latin *x*) had various local developments—is, *itš*, *tš*—somewhat similar to those of *ct*: *exīre* > *eissir eichir ichir*.

(3) Latin *d* between vowels disappeared in some spots in the north and northeast¹, and became *z* nearly everywhere else: *audīre* > *auir auzir*.

(4) Latin *ll* became *l'* in some parts of the south², and usually *l* in other regions: *bēlla* > *belha bela*.

(5) Provençal final *ns* remains in the southeast and east, and is elsewhere generally reduced to *s*: *bōnus* > *bons bos*. Provençal final *n* also falls in a large region, but its history is more intricate; the poets use indifferently forms with and without *n*: *bēne* > *ben be*.

12. Several Latin consonants, when combined with a following *e* or *i*, give results that are widely different in various localities, but the geographical distribution of the respective forms is complicated and not always clear: *pōdium* > *puech poi*; *basiare* > *baisar basar baiiar baiar*; *bassiare* > *baissar baichar bachar*; *potiōnem* > *poizon poizon poio*. The same thing

¹ Cf. French.

² Cf. Spanish.

may be said of intervocalic *y* (Latin *j*): *major* > *mager maier*. Also of intervocalic *c*, *sc*, *g*, *ŋg*, followed by *e* or *i*: *placēre* > *plazer plaizer plager*, *nascere* > *naisser nasser naicher nacher*, *lāgem* > *lei leg*, *ūngere* > *onher onger*.

13. In the development of unstressed vowels there are very numerous local variations, which will be discussed later. Even among accented vowels there are some divergences:—

(1) Provençal *a*, *e*, *o* before nasals become *a*, *e*, *o* in some dialects, especially in those belonging to or bordering on the Limousin group: *canem* > *çan çan*, *vēnit* > *vēn vēn*, *bōnum* > *bōn bōn*. The poets nearly always use the forms with close vowels.

(2) The breaking of *e*, *o*, under certain conditions, into diphthongs is not common to the whole territory, and the resulting forms show local differences: *mēum* > *mēu miēu*, *fōcum* > *fōc fuōc fuēc füc*. Breaking is least common in the southwest.

II. PHONOLOGY.

14. Inasmuch as Provençal, like the other Romance languages, grew out of the Latin commonly spoken under the Roman Empire, we must take this latter language as our starting-point. The transformation was so gradual and continuous that we cannot assign any date at which speech ceases to be Latin and begins to be Provençal; since, however, the various Latin dialects—destined to become later the various Romance languages—began to diverge widely in the 6th and 7th centuries, we may, for the sake of convenience, say that the Latin period ends at about this time. Before this, certain changes (which affected all the Romance tongues) had occurred in the popular language, differentiating it considerably from the classic Latin of the Augustan writers. Although the most important of these alterations have to do with inflections rather than with pronunciation, the sound-changes in Vulgar Latin are by no means insignificant.

15. It is essential at the outset to distinguish “popular” from “learned” words. The former, having always been a part of the spoken vocabulary, have been subject to the operation of all the phonetic laws that have governed the development of the language. The latter class, consisting of words borrowed by clerks, at various periods, from Latin books and from the Latin of the Church, is naturally exempt from sound-changes that occurred in the vulgar tongue before

the time of their adoption. The form of learned words depends, in the first place, on the clerical pronunciation of Latin at the date of their borrowing; then, if they came into general use, their form was subject to the influence of any phonetic laws that were subsequently in force. The fate of borrowed terms differs, therefore, according to the time of their introduction and the degree of popularity which they afterwards attained.

1. ACCENT.

16. The place of the *primary accent*, which in Classic Latin was determined by quantity, remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin even after quantitative distinctions were lost. A short vowel before a mute followed by a liquid may, in Classic Latin, be stressed or unstressed; in Vulgar Latin it is usually stressed: *cathédra, tenébra*.¹

There are some exceptions to the rule of the persistence of the accent in Vulgar Latin:—

1. An accented e or i immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to this latter vowel, and is itself changed to y: *filiólus* > *filyólus*, *mulierem* > *mulyére*. This shift is perhaps due to a tendency to stress the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels.

2. An accented u immediately followed by the vowel of the penult transfers the stress to the *preceding* syllable, and is itself changed to w: *habúerunt* > *ábwerunt*, *tenúeram* > *ténwera*. This shift cannot be explained on the same principle as the foregoing one; it is perhaps due in every case to analogy—*háruit, ténui*, for instance, being responsible for the change in *habúerunt, tenúeram*.

3. Verbs compounded with a prefix, if their constituent parts were fully recognized, were usually replaced in Vulgar Latin by a formation in which the vowel and the accent of the simple verb were preserved: *déficit* > *disfácit*, *reddídi* > *reddédi*, *renégo* > *renégo*, *réquirit* > *requarít*. In

¹ For some exceptions see *Rom.*, XXXII, 591; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, p. 9.

reçipit > *recipit* the accent but not the vowel was restored, speakers having ceased to associate this verb with *capio*. In *colligo*, *erigo*, *exeo*, *inflo* the composite nature of the word was apparently not recognized.

4. The adverbs *illac*, *illuc* accented their last syllable, by the analogy of *hac*, *hic*.

17. In Provençal the primary accent falls on the same syllable as in Vulgar Latin: *bonitatem* > V. L. *bonitate* > Pr. *bontát*, *computum* > V. L. *computu* > Pr. *cónte*; *cathedra* > V. L. *catēdra* > Pr. *cadēira*; *filiolus* > V. L. *filyólus* > Pr. *filhóls*, *tenueram* > V. L. *ténwera* > Pr. *téngra*, *requirit* > V. L. *requerit* > Pr. *requér*, *illac* > V. L. *illác* > Pr. *lai*.

1. Some learned words have an irregular accentuation, apparently due to a mispronunciation of the Latin: *cándidum* > *quandí*, *grammática* > *gramatíca*, *láchrýmo* > *lagrím*, *spírítum* > *esprít* (perhaps from the formula *spírítui sancto*). Others were adopted with the correct stress, but shifted it later: *fábrica* > *fábrega* > *fabréga* (and *fárga*), *fémína* > *fémēna* > *fēmēna* (and *fēmna*), *láchrýma* > *lágrema* > *lagréma*, *sémínat* > *sémena* > *semēna* (and *sémna*), *vírgínem* > *vérgēna* > *vergína* (and *vérgē*).

2. *Dimércres* < *dīe Mercūri* has evidently been influenced by *divénres* < *dīe Vēnēris*.

3. Some irregularities due to inflection will be discussed under Morphology.

18. The *secondary* accent, in Vulgar Latin, seems not to have followed the Classic Latin quantitative rule, but to have fallen regularly on the second syllable from the primary stress: *cōgító*, *cupídítatem*. If this secondary accent followed the tonic, its vowel probably developed as an unstressed post-tonic vowel; if it preceded, its vowel was apparently treated as a stressed vowel. This treatment was doubtless continued in Provençal until the intertonic vowel dropped out: *cōgító* *cōgítánt* > *cug cúian* (cf. *cánto* *cántant* > *can cántan*), *cupídítatem* > *cupēditáte* > *cubēdtát* > *cobeitát*. As may be seen from this last example, after the fall of the intertonic vowel,

the secondary stress, being brought next to the primary, disappeared, and its vowel was henceforth unaccented. Cf. § 45, 1.

19. Short, unemphatic words had no accent in Vulgar Latin, and were attached as particles to the beginning or the end of another word: *te videt, áma me*. Such words, if they were not monosyllabic, tended to become so; a dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel regularly, in Vulgar Latin, lost its first syllable: *illum video* > V. L. *lu véyo* > Pr. *lo vei*. A word which was used sometimes independently, sometimes as a particle, naturally developed double forms.

2. VOWELS.

QUANTITY.

20. Latin had the following vowels, which might be long or short: a, e, i, o, u. The diphthongs, æ, œ, au, eu, ui, were always long: æ and œ, however, were simplified into monophthongs, mainly in the Republican epoch, æ being sounded ē, œ probably ē; au retained (save in some popular dialects) its old pronunciation; eu did not occur in any word that survived; ui, in *cui, illui*, in Vulgar Latin, was accented *úi* (as in *fui*). The simple vowels, except a, were, doubtless from early times, slightly different in quality according to their quantity, the long vowels being sounded close, the short open: ē, ī, ō, ū; ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ.

21. Between the 1st and the 7th century of our era, the Classic Latin quantity died out: it had apparently disappeared from unstressed vowels as early as the 4th century, from stressed by the 6th. It left its traces, however, as we have seen, upon accentuation (§ 16), and also upon vowel

quality, the originally long and short remaining differentiated in sound, if they were accented. Of the unaccented vowels, only *i* shows sure signs of such a differentiation, and even for *i* the distinction is evident only in a final syllable: *vēnī vēnīt* > *venī venīt*.

ACCENTED VOWELS.

22. The vowels of Vulgar Latin are *a*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, with the diphthongs *áu* and *úi*; the old *æ* and *œ* had become identical in sound with *e* and *ē*. As early as the 3d century of our era, *i* was changed, in nearly all the Empire, to *e*, and thus became identical with the vowel coming from original *ē*. A little later, perhaps, *u*, in the greater part of the Empire, became *o*, thus coinciding with the vowel that was originally *ō*. Ypsilon, in words taken from the Greek, was identified, in early borrowings, with Latin *u*; in later ones, with Latin *i*: *βύρσα* > Pr. *borsa*, *γῦπος* > Pr. *girs*. Omicron, which apparently had the close sound in Greek, generally (but not always) retained it in recently borrowed words in Vulgar Latin: *τόρνος* > *tornus* (cf. Pr. *torn*), but *κόλαφος* > *cōlāphus* = *colapus* or *colapus* (cf. Pr. *colp*).

The development of the Vulgar Latin vowels in Provençal will now be examined in detail:—

a

23. Cl. L. *ā*, *ǎ* > V. L. *a* > Pr. *a*: *ārbōrem* > *arbre*, *grātum* > *graŕ*, *māre* > *mar*.

1. The ending *-arius* shows an irregular development in French and Provençal, the Provençal forms being mainly such as would come from *-ārius*; as in *parlier*, *parleira*. In the earliest stage we find apparently *-er'* and *-er'a*; then *-er'* and *-eir'a*; next *-er*, *-ier* and *-eira*, *-ieira*; finally, with a reciprocal influence of the two genders, *-er*, *-ier*, *-eir*, and *-era*, *-iera*, *-eira*, *-ieira*: *caballarium* > *c(h)avaler -ier*, *-eir*, **man(u)aria*

> *manera -iera -eira -ieira*. The peculiar treatment of this suffix has not been satisfactorily explained. See E. R. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen*, 1895; E. Staaff, *Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes*, Upsala, 1896, reviewed by Marchot in *Zs.*, XXI, 296, by Körting in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXII, 55; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237; Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXVI, 591; Thomas in *Rom.*, XXXI, 481. The most promising theory is that of Thomas: that *-arius* was associated with the Germanic ending *-ari* and participated in the *umlaut* which affected the latter; cf. also P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 34-36.

2. In Gascony and Languedoc *ei* is used for *ai* < *habeo*. The *ei* perhaps developed first as a future ending (*amar -ei*) by analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* (*amei*): see Morphology, §§ 152, 1, 162, (4), 175, (4), where this latter ending is discussed also. For a different explanation, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 222, § 237.

3. A few apparent irregularities are to be traced to the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin. For instance, Pr. *sereisa* represents, not Cl. L. *cērāsus*, but V. L. *cērēsā*: see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 103. *Uebre* is from **ōpērit*, or *apērit* modified by **cōpērit* = *cōperit*. *Voig* is from **vōcītum* = *vacuum*: *Einf.*, § 114.

4. Such forms as *fontaina* = *fontana* < *fontāna*, etc., and *tres* = *tras* < *trans*, etc., are French or belong to the borderland between French and Provençal.

✓ 24. In some dialects, particularly in Rouergue, Limousin, Auvergne, and Dauphiné, *a* became *ḃ* before a nasal, and at the end of a monosyllable or an oxytone: *cānem* > *caṅ*, *grandem* > *graṅt*, *cadit* > *caḃ*, *stat* > *estaḃ*.

1. The conditions differ somewhat in the various dialects, according as the nasal consonant falls or remains, and is followed by another consonant or not. In Limousin the sound is *ḃ* before an *n* that cannot fall: see § 11, (5). In Rouergue and in Dauphiné, *ḃ* appears before all nasals. The poets generally follow the Limousin usage. See F. Pfützner, *Ueber die Aussprache des provenzalischen A*, Halle, 1884.

e

25. Cl. L. *ē*, *ī*, *œ* > V. L. *e* > Pr. *e*: *habēre* > *aver*, *mē* > *meḃ*,

mensem > meș, *plēnum* > plēn, *rēgem* > rei, *vēndēre* > vendre; *īnter* > entre, *fidem* > fe, *malitia* > maleza, *mīnus* > mēns, *mīttere* > mețre, *siccum* > seç, *vīridem* > vert; *pœna* > peņa.

1. Some words have ɛ instead of ɛ̃:—

(a) The ending *-ētis* in the present indicative becomes *-etz* through the analogy of *etz* < *ēstis*.

(b) Camel (also e), candela (also e), cruzeł, fizeł (also ɛ), maissela have ɛ through the analogy of the suffix *-el* < *-ellus*. In *camel* the substitution probably goes back to Vulgar Latin.

(c) Many learned words, including proper names, have ɛ for ɛ̃: *deçret*, *Elizabêt*, *Moyses*, *panțera*, *requies*, *seçret* (e), *sencer*.

(d) *Esper* for *esper* < *sp̄ero*, *quet* for *quet* < *qu(i)ētum* are perhaps bad rhymes. Bartolomeo Zorzi, a Venetian, rhymes *-es* with *-es*; in Catalan these two endings were not distinguished.

(e) Individual cases: *adēs*, 'at once,' probably from *ad id ip̄sum*, seems to have been affected by *preș* and *apreș* < *ad pr̄ssum*; *mostiēr* < *monast̄erium* shows the influence of *minist̄erium*; *neț* *niē* (also *neț* *negre*) < *nigrum* perhaps shows the influence of *ent̄er* *entiēr* and the numerous adjectives in *-er* *-iēr*; *neț* *niēu* *neț* < *nivem* has been attracted by *brețu* *grețu*, *lețu*; *seçe* < *sēd̄cim* follows *seis* < *sēx*; *sençstre* (cf. late Lat. *sinexter*) is evidently influenced by *deștre*.

2. Many words have i instead of ɛ̃:—

(a) *Berbitz* = *verv̄cem*, *camisa* = *cam̄isia*, *dit* = *d̄igitum* come from alternative V. L. forms, *berb̄icem*, **cam̄isia*, **d̄igitum*.

(b) In many learned words Latin *ī* is represented by *i* in Provençal: *albir*, *martire*, *edifici*, *iuzizi*, *servizi*, *vici*, etc.; *iusticia*, *leticia*, *tristicia*, etc.; *planissa*, *sebissa*, etc. *Aurilha* (also e) < *aur̄cula*, *cilh* (also *cieilh*, *sobre-selhs*) < *c̄ilium*, *issilh* < *ex̄ilium*, *familha* < *fam̄ilia*, *maistre* (also *maeștre* *maieștre*) < *maḡistrum*, *meravilha* (also e) < *mirab̄ilia*, *perilh* < *per̄iculum*, etc., are probably learned forms. *Máistre* and *mestre* are French.

(c) *Ciri* (*cerē*) = *c̄ereum*, *iure* (cf. *ebriac*) = *ēbrium* (or **ēbrium*), *marquis* (e), *merci* (e), *pais* (e) = **paḡensem*, *plazir* (e), *pris* (e), etc., are French. For a discussion of *iure* and a different explanation of *ciri*, see P. Savj-Lopez, *Dell' "Umlaut" provenzale*, 1902, p. 4.

(d) *Ins* (also *entz*) < *īntus*, *dins* (also *dens*) < *de īntus*, *dintre* (cf. *en*, *entre*) < *de īnter* have not been satisfactorily explained. Regular forms with ɛ̃ are found in Béarn, Gascony, Dauphiné, and the Alps.

(e) Individual cases: *tapit* < *ταπήτιον* shows the modern pronunciation of Greek η; *verin* = *venēnum* is an example of substitution of suffix.

3. *Arnei, fei, mei* = *me*, *palafrei, perquei, sei* = *se* are French or borderland forms. *Mercey, rey* = *re*, used by Marcabru, seem to be due either to an imitation of such forms as the preceding or to the analogy of *crei cre* < *crēdo*. Cf. § 65, N, 3.

4. *Contrānher* seems to be a fusion of *constringere* and *contrahere*; *vendanha* < *vindēmia* shows French influence.

26. An *ē* in hiatus became *i*: *ligat* > *lia*, **siam* > *sia*, *vīa* > *via*.

27. When there was in the next syllable a final *i*, V. L. *ē* was changed in Provençal to *i*: *ecc'illī* > *cilh*, *ecc'istī* > *cist*, *fēcī* > *fis*, **prēsī* > *pris*, **vēnuī* > *vinc*, *vīgintī* **vīntī* > *vint*.

1. In the nominative plural of masculine nouns and adjectives this change was regularly prevented by the analogy of the singular and the accusative plural: *mīssī* > *mes*, *plēnī* > *plen*. We find, however, *cabil* < *capillī*.

2. *Dec* for **dic* < *dēbuī* is probably due to the influence of the weak ending *-ēc*, which owes its *ē* to the *-ēi -ēst -ēt* of the first and third conjugations. *Venguest* for *venguist* < **venūstī* is due both to the influence of the plural forms *venguem, venguetz* and to the analogy of the weak preterits, such as *cantest, vendest*.

ē

28. Cl. L. *ě, æ* > V. L. *ē* > Pr. *ē*: *infērnūm* > *enfern*, *fērrum* > *fēr*, *pēdem* > *pē*, *trēmūlat* > *trēmbla*; *cælum* > *cēl*, *quærit* > *quer*.

1. Such forms as *glisia, lire, pire, pis, profit* are French. *Profich* may be a cross between *profieg* and *profit*, or it may be due to the analogy of *dich*.

2. *Cossint, mint, sint*, used by Arnaut Daniel, are perhaps faulty rhymes.

3. *Auzil* < *avicēllī*, in the *Boeci*, may be due to the analogy of such plural forms as *cabil* < *capillī*, *il* < *illī*, etc. *Briu*, sometimes used for

breu < *brēvem*, is evidently connected with *abrivar*, 'hasten,' the origin of which is uncertain. *Elig* shows the influence either of *eligir* (beside *elegir*) or of *dig*. *Ginh* = *genh* < *ingēnium* evidently follows *ginhos* < *ingeniōsus* and its derivatives. *Isme* (*esme*) is a post-verbal noun from **ismar* (cf. *azismamen*), a dialect form of *esmar* < *astimare*. *Quis* < **quasi*, *tinc* < *tēnnui* are due to the analogy of *pris* < **prēsī*, *vinc* < **vēnnui*.

4. Beside *neula* < *nēbula*, we find *nebla*, *neble*, presumably from the same source, and also *nible*, *niól*, *nióla*, *niúll*, *niúla*, *nivól*. According to Nigra, *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 494, *nūbes* > *nūbīlus* > **nībūlus* (and **nībūlus*?), whence might be derived **niūllus* **niūllus*, which would account for *niól*-a, *niúll*-a, and perhaps for a **nivol* > *nivól*. *Nible* might be regarded as a cross between *neble* and *niul*.

5. In *es* < *est* the *ę* probably comes from such combinations as *mę's*, *quę's*, understood as *m'ęs*, *qu'ęs*. *Espelh* < *spēculum* shows the influence of *cosseļh*, *solęh*. *Estęla* presupposes a Latin **stęla* or **stęlla* for *stęlla*: cf. the Fr. and It.

6. *Plais*, 'hedge' seems to be a cross between *plęxus* and *paxillus*, 'fence.' *Vianda* (< *vivenda*?) is probably French.

7. *Volon* < *volentem* shows the influence of the ending *-ūndus*.

8. *Greuga* < *con-gregar* has been influenced by *greu* < **gręvem* = *gravam* influenced by *lęvem*. Cf. *grey* < *gręgem*.

29. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, *ę* became *ę*: *bęne* > *ben*, *dicęntem* > *dizen*, *tęmpus* > *teṃs*, *tęnet* > *teṃ*, *vęniam* > *venha*, *vęntum* > *vent*.

30. Early in the history of Provençal, before *u*, *i*, or one of the palatal consonants *l'*, *r'*, *s'*, *z'*, *y*, *tš*, *dž*, an *ę* broke into *ię*, except in a few dialects of the west and north: *dęus* > *dięus*, *męum* > *mięu*; *amāvi* > **amai* > *amei* *amięi*, **fęria* > *fięira*, **ec(c)lęsia*? (Cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 344) > *glięiza*, *lęctum* > *lięit*, *pęjus* > *pięis*; *vętulum* *vęclum* > *vielh*, *ministęrium* > *mestięr*, **ec(c)lęsia*? > *glięza*, *mędia* > *mięia*, *lęctum* > *lięg*. There seems to be also, at least in some dialects, a tendency to break the *ę* before a *g* or a *k*: *lęgunt* > *lięgon*; **sęquit* > *sęc*

sięc, subjunctive sięgas (seęa), but infinitive seęre < **sęquere*.¹

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal (or velar) consonant.² Before u it occurred everywhere except in the extreme west; before palatals the e apparently remained intact both in the extreme west and in Quercy, Rouergue, Auvergne, and Dauphiné. At first, no doubt, the diphthong was less marked than it became in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is not indicated in our oldest text, the *Boeci* (*breu, deu, eu, mei, meler, vel*)³, and it frequently remains unexpressed even in the writings of the literary period.

It is to be noted that e does not break before u < l nor before i < đ: *bęllus* > bęls > beus, *pętra* > *peđtra > peira, *Pętrum* > *Peđre > Peire, *rętro* > *ređre > reire⁴. The breaking must, therefore, have occurred before these developments of l and đ, both of which apparently antedate the *Boeci*: cf. *euz* = *ęls*, v. 139; *eu* = *el*, v. 155; *Teiric* < **Teđric* < *Theodoricum*, v. 44, etc. On the other hand, there is no diphthong before ts, dz, s, z coming from Latin c', cy, pty, tty, ty: *dęcem* > dețz, *pęttia* (or *pęcia*) > peșsa, *nęptia* > neșsa, **prętiat* > preșza, *prętium* > pretz⁵. The breaking, therefore, took

¹ There is no diphthong in the preterit ending -ęc: *cazęc*, etc.

² This view is a modification of the theory developed by C. Voretzsch in his admirable treatise, *Zur Geschichte der Diphthongierung im Altprovenzalischen*, Halle, 1900. That e is not affected by an i in the following syllable is shown by such words as *empeři*, *evangęli*, *salteři*, which must have been adopted fairly early. The same thing is true of o: *apostęli*, *ęli*, etc.

³ The diphthong of o occurs, however, in this text, v. 203, in *uel* < *ęculi*.

⁴ *Derrier* (*derer, dereer*), beside *dereire*, is manifestly due to the influence of *primier*. To the influence of the same ending -ier, as in *carr(i)eira*, is to be ascribed the diphthong in *cad(i)eira* < *cathędra*.

⁵ The things just said of e are true of o: there is no breaking before u < l (*tęut* = *tolt*) nor before ts, dz, s, z (*nęcet* > *nęțz*, **nęptias* > *nęșsas*).

place after these consonants had ceased to be palatal. We may ascribe it with some confidence to the period between the seventh and tenth centuries.

1. A number of cases of *ię* before *r* are doubtless to be explained by analogy. *Hęri* > *ęr*; *autre + er* > *autręr*, which, through the influence of adjectives in *-ęr -ięr*, became *autrięr*: hence the form *ięr*. *Fęrio, męreo* > *fięr, mięr*; hence, by analogy, the first person forms *profięr, quięr*, then the third person forms *fięr, mięr, profięr, quięr, sięr* (but *sęrvon, sęrva*), and the subjunctives *ofięira, sofię(i)ra*.

2. *Ięsc* (= *ęxco*), *ięscon, ięsca* receive their diphthong either from earlier forms with *s'* or from *ięis* < *ęxit*.

i

31. Cl. L. *i* > V. L. *i*: *amicum* > *amiç*, *finem* > *fiñ*, *tristem* > *trist*.

1. *Fręg, fręit* are from V. L. **frigdum = frigüdum*, the *i* being perhaps due to the analogy of *rigüdum*.

X 32. In the 13th century or earlier the group *iu*, in most dialects, became *ieu*: *captivum* > *caitiu caitieu*, *ęstivum* > *ęstiu ęsticu*, *revivęre* > *reviure revieure*, *sī vōs* > *sius sieus*.

o

X 33. Cl. L. *ō, ū* > V. L. *o* > Pr. *o*, which developed into *u* probably during the literary period: *dolorem* > *dolor*, *spōnsa* > *ęposa*, *flōrem* > *flor*; *bucca* > *boça*, *gūla* > *gola*.

1. An irregular *o*, which is found in some words, goes back to Vulgar Latin: *çobra = re-cęperat*, *çosta* (also *o*) = *cōstat*, *nçra = nūra*, *çu = çvum*, *plçia = plüvia*, *redçbla = *redüplat*, *sçbra = sęperat*, *suefre = süf-fero*. V. L. **çęperat* may be regarded as a fusion of *cęperat* and **çęperit* (§ 40, 1; cf. *Rom.* XXXI, 9); **çōstat* is unexplained; **nçra* shows the influence of *sçror* and *sççera*; the *ç* of **çvum* has been explained as due to differentiation from the following *v*; **plçia* is to be connected with the popular *plvçere* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 142); **sçperat* follows the analogy of **çęperat*; **sçffero* evidently follows *çffero*. *Redçbla* (also *o*)

is not accounted for. If *trōba* has anything to do with *tūrbat*, it was perhaps influenced by *prōbat* (cf. *Zs.*, XXVIII, 50).

2. Some words have *ü*: *iüs* (also *iqs*) < *deōrsūm* shows the influence of *sūs* < *sūrsum*; *lür* (usually *lōr*) < *illōrum* (cf. *lur* in the dialects of Navarre and Aragon) comes through an **illūrum* due to the analogy of *illūi* = *illi*; *melhūra* (o), *peiūra* (o) perhaps follow *aūra* < **a(u)gūrat*; *rancūra* is a mixture of *rancōrem* and *cūra*; *üis* is from V. L. *ūstium* = *ōstium* (cf. *Zs.*, XXV, 355); *üpa* < *üppäpa* is due to onomatopœa.

3. The adverbs *ar*, *ara*, *er*, *era*, *eras*, meaning 'now,' are hardly to be connected with *hōra*. Meyer-Lübke takes *era*, etc., from a Latin **era* corresponding to Greek *ἄρα*; *ara*, *ar* may come directly from *ἄρα*, *ἄρ*: cf. *Gr.*, III, 552, note.

4. *Adoutz*, 'fount,' from *adductus*, probably owes its *ou* to the analogy of *doutz*, *adouzar*, from *dūlcis*.

5. *Tonleu*, 'tariff,' from *τελώνιον*, shows a metathesis of vowels and of consonants.

34. Before *tš*, *dž* (and *it*, *id*), before *n'*, and before final *i*, an *o* becomes *ü* in various dialects: *cōgītat* > *cüia* *cüida*, **stūdiat* > *estüia*, *fūgit* > *füg*, *refūgium* > *refüg*; *jüngere* > *iünher*, *üngere* > *ünher*, *pūgnum* > *pünh*; *düi* > *düi*, *süm* > *so* + *i* > *süi*. The *ü* before *tš*, *dž* apparently occurs everywhere except in Dauphiné; before *n'* it is to be found in nearly all the dialects of the north and west; before final *i* it seems to be limited to Bordeaux, Auvergne, and a part of Languedoc.

o

35. Cl. L. *ō* > V. L. *o* > Pr. *o*: *cōr* > *çor*, *cōrpus* > *çors*, *mōrtem* > *mort*, *ōpera* > *obra*, *rōta* > *roða*.

1. For *demōra* (also *o*) < **demōrat*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, 204, § 220. For *prōa* (also *prōa*, *prueva*) < *prōbat*, see *Rom.*, XXXI, 10, footnote 3.

36. Before a nasal, in most of the dialects of Limousin, Languedoc, and Gascony, *o* became *o*: *bōnum* > *bōn*, *fōntem*.

> font, *põntem* > pønt. Cf. E. Levy in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund*, 1896, p. 207.

1. If the nasal was *n'*, the vowel remained open in most or all of these dialects: *cõgnita* > *coinda cuenda cuenhda*, *lõnge* > *lonh luenh*, *sõmniun* > *sonh suenh*.

37. Early in the history of Provençal, before *u*, a labial consonant, a *g* or a *k*, an *i*, or one of the palatal consonants *ʎ*, *n'*, *r'*, *s'*, *z'*, *y*, *tš*, *dž*, an *o* broke, in most dialects, into a diphthong which developed into *ue*, *üo*, *üe*, or *ü*¹: *bõvem* > *bou büou büeu*, **õvum* > *ou üou üeu*, *nõvus* > *nos nüous nüeus*; **cõpero* > *cõbri cüebre*², *nõva* > *nova nüeva*, *õpus* > *ops üops*, *prõbat* > *prõa prüeva*, **trõpo?* > *trõp trüeb*; *cõquus* > *cõcs cüocs cüex*, *fõcum* > *fõc füoc füec füc*, *crõcus* > *grõcs grüocs grüecs*, *jõcum* > *iõc iüoc iüec iüc*, *lõcus* > *løcs lüocs lüecs*, *løcat* > *lüoga*, *põtui* > *püec*, *sõc(ẽ)rum* > (*sozer*) *sogre süegre* (fem. *süegra*); **ingrõssiat* > *engrõssia engrüeissa*, **angõstia* > *engõssia engüeissa*, *nõctem* > *noit nüoit nüeit*, *õcto* > *õit üeit*, *põstea* > *põssas püeissas*, *prõximus* > *proymes prüeymes*; *fõlia* > *fõlha füolha füelha fülha*, *õculus õclus* > *õlhs üolhs üelhs ülhs*, *lõnge* > *lonh lüenh*, *sõmniun* > *sonh süenh*, *cõrium* > *cõr cüer*, *põstea* > *pües*, *prõximum* > *prõsme prüesme*, **plõia* > *plõia plüeia plüia*, **inõdiat* > *enõia enüeia enüia*, **põdiat* > *põia püeia püia*, *nõctem* > *nüoch nüech nüeh*, *õcto* > *üeg*.

The breaking was probably due to a premature lifting of the tongue under the influence of a following high vowel or a palatal or velar consonant, or to a premature partial closure

¹ The conditions are not quite the same as for *e*: an *e* does not break before a labial (*neps*) nor before *n'* (*venha*). Breaking before *g* and *k* seems more general for *o* than for *e*.

² So the second person forms *cuebres*, *uebres*, *uefres*, and the third person forms *cuebre*, *uebre*, *uefre*; cf. *cõbron*, *õbri*, etc.

of the lips in anticipation of a following labial. Before *i* or a palatal the diphthong was at the start presumably *üo*; before *u* or a labial or velar consonant, *uo*: from these two types, the first of which influenced the second, came the later developments. *Ü* is a reduction of *üo* or *üe*; it apparently does not occur before *u*.

The dialect conditions are mixed, the development in each region depending somewhat on the following sound. In the southwest, *o* and *ue* seem to prevail; in the northwest, *ü*; in the west, in Limousin, and in Auvergne, *üe*; in Languedoc, *üo*; in the east and south, *üe*, *üo*, *o*.

The date of breaking is discussed in § 30.

1. In some words where a diphthong would be expected, none is found, although it may have existed: *mou* < *mövet*, *noü* < *növem*, *plou* < **plövit*; *troþ* < *þrop*; *broçs* < **bröccus*, *iogon* < *jöcunt*, *loçui* < *löco*. The form *püoc* or *püec* < *þötui* is regularly reserved for the first person, *þötuït* being represented by *poç*.

2. A few cases of irregular breaking are easily explained: *püosc* *püesc* (= *þössum*) and *püosca* *püesca* (= *þössim*) owe their diphthong either to earlier forms with *s'* or to the analogy of *püec*; *sofre* *süefre* *süfre* (= *süf-fert*) are from **söfferit*, formed upon **öfferit* = *öffert* (cf. § 33, 1); *vüelc* (= *völuï*) follows the analogy of *vüelh* (< **völeo* = *völo*) and of *püec*.

u

38. Cl. L. *ü* > V. L. *u* > Pr. *ü*: **habütus* > *avütz*, *jüstum* > *iüst*, *mürum* > *mür*, *mütus* > *mütz*, *nüdus* > *nütz*, *plūs* > *plüs*.

The date of the change of *u* into *ü* is not known; there is no *ü* in Catalan, and there may have been none in early Gascon. It seems likely that the Celts, when they adopted Latin, pronounced *ü* a little further forward in the mouth than did the Romans; that their *u* continued to advance gradually toward the front of the mouth until it became *ü*; and that this *ü* spread to the parts of France that were not

originally Celtic.¹ In the literary period the sound was probably *ü* in the Provençal region, with the possible exception of Gascony.

1. Pr. *õnze* represents a V. L. **ũndċim*, which in Gaul and Spain replaced *ũndċim*. *Loita lücha*, *trõcha trücha* probably go back to Latin double forms, **lũcta lũcta*, **trũcta trũcta*. *Engõissa* < V. L. **angõstia* = *angũstia* (cf. Italian *angoscia*).

2. *Nõssas* < **nõptias* = *nũptias*, by analogy of **nõvius*, 'bridegroom,' from *nõvus*.

au

39. Cl. L. *au* > V. L. *au* > Pr. *au*: *aurum* > *aur*, *gaudium* > *gaug*, *paucum* > *pauc*, *thesaurus* > *tesaurs*.

1. *Bloi* < *blauþr*, *ioi*, *ioia*, *ioios*, *lotia* < **laubja*, *noiza*, *onta* < *hauniþa*, *or*, *sor*, *tesor*, etc., are French. *Iai*, 'joy,' seems to be a fusion of *ioi* and Pr. *iai* = *gai*.

2. *Anta* < *hauniþa* is unexplained.

UNACCENTED VOWELS.

40. (1) The fate of an unaccented vowel depended largely upon the syllable in which it stood: in general, unstressed vowels in the initial syllable remained intact, while all vowels, except *a*, fell (at different dates) in the other syllables. The fall of unaccented vowels resulted in many new consonant groups: *collocäre* > *colcär*, *hóminem* > *ómne*, *sábbatum* > *sápte*.

(2) The vowels *e* and *i*, instead of falling or remaining unchanged, became *y* in Vulgar Latin, early in our era: *alea* > *alya*, *diŭrnus* > *dyŭrnus*, *mċdium* > *mċdyu*. Similarly *u* became *w*: *placui* > *placwi*, *tċnuis* > *tċnwis*.

1. Apparently, however, *ċé*, *ċé* > *e*; *oó*, *uó* > *o*: *prċhċndċre* > *prċndċre*; *abċċtem* > **abċċtem*, *facċċbat* > **facċċbat*, *parċċċtem* > *parċċtem*, *quiċċtus* >

¹ For a discussion of the date, see K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1899-1903), I, § 187.

quētus; *cōhōrtem* > *cōrtem*, *cōp̄p̄erit* > *cōp̄erit* **cōp̄erit*; *dūddēcim* > **dōddēcim*. The short e and o in *prēndēre* and **cōp̄erit* are not accounted for. In *mul̄tērem*¹ > Pr. *molh̄er* the *ī* remained long enough (perhaps under the influence of the nominative *mūlier*) to palatalize the l.

INITIAL SYLLABLE.

41. Usually, in the literary language, Latin a > Pr. a; Latin æ, œ, and e, i (without regard to quantity) > Pr. e; Latin o, u (long or short) > Pr. o; Lat. au > Pr. au, unless the next syllable contained an ú, in which case the au was reduced (in the Vulgar Latin time) to a. Ex.: *amicum* > *amic*, *caballus* > *cavals*; *æquālem* > *egal*, **pœnitēre* > *penēdre*, *dēbere* > *dever*, *mēliōrem* > *melh̄or*, *dilēctum* > *delēit*, *dīvinum* > *devin*, *dīvidēre* > *devire*, *finire* > *fenir*, *minōrem* > *men̄or*; *plōrāre* > *plorar*, *sōlātium* > *solatz*, *cōlōrem* > *color*, **vōlēre* > *voler*, *mūstēla* > *mostēla*, *sūbīnde* > *soven*; *aucēllum* > *auzel*, *audire* > *auzir*, *augūstum* > *aost*, **augūrium* > *aür*.

1. An initial vowel is occasionally lost, either through elision with the article (**eclēsia* > **eglēisa*, *la eglēisa* > *la glēisa*) or through the dropping of a prefix (*ingēnium* > *engēnh gēnh*): *ep̄iscōpus* > *bisbes*, *alauda* > *lauzeta*, *occasiōnem* > *ocaiso caiso*.

2. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable disappeared, for some unknown reason, in Vulgar Latin: **cōrrōtūlāre* > **cōrtūlāre* > *crollar*, *dīrēctus* > *drēctus*² > *dreitz*, *quīrūtāre* > **critāre* > *cridar*.

3. *Domne*, used familiarly as a proclitic (§ 19), lost its first syllable, and, before a vowel, was reduced to *n*. The combinations *de n*, *que n* (followed by a proper name) were understood as *d'en*, *qu'en*; hence the title *en*, 'Sir.' See Schultz-Gora in *Zs.*, XXVI, 588; Elise Richter in *Zs.*, XXVII, 193.

4. The proclitic *o* probably comes from a V. L. *ot*, not from *aut*.

42. The vowel of the initial syllable, especially in verbs,

¹ For the accent, see § 16, 1.

² Spelled *drictus*: see Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 422.

was extremely subject to the influence of analogy: *cülhir* (o) through *cülh* (o) < *cölligit*, *dizen* < *dicensentem* through *dire* < *dicere*, *dürar* through *dür* < *dürum* and *düra* < *dürat*, *finir* through *fin* < *finem*, *fiçela* through *fibla* < *fībula*, *puçiar* (o) through *puçia* (o) < **pōdiat*.

1. *Avangeli* (e) is perhaps influenced by *avan*; *bliso* (e) < *blas* may possibly have been influenced by *tiso*; *gazardo* < *wiðarlôn* shows the influence of *gazanhar*; in *piuçela* (*pülçela*) < **püellicëlla* (*Zs.*, XXV, 343) the *püu* of the first syllable was changed to *piu* perhaps under the influence of *pūs* < *pius*; in *vas* = *ves* < *ve(r)sus* the *a* is due to the analogy of *az* < *ad*; *vais* is unexplained, *vaus* follows *daus* (§ 44, 6). If *desse* is from *de exin*, the first syllable is irregular. Beside *maniar* < *manducare* are unexplained forms *meniar* *miniar*. In *duptar* (o), *suritz* (o) the *u* doubtless represents *u* or *o*, not *i*. *Girofle* < *Καρύφυλλον* and *olifan orifan* < *elephantem* are French.

43. Sometimes the initial syllable was altered by a change of prefix or a false idea of etymology: *aucire* < *occidēre* (cf. the Italian and Rumanian forms), *diman* (e) < *de māne* and *dimenge* < *domñicum* (cf. *di* < *dīem*), *dementre* < *dum intērim* (cf. *de* < *de*), *engoissa* < **angüstia* (cf. *en* < *in*), *envanezir* < *evanēscēre*, *escür* < *obscurum* (cf. *es-* < *ex-*), *preon prefon* (o) < *profundum*, *redon* < *rotundum* (*re-* in V. L.: Schuchardt, *Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, 213), *trabalh* < *trepalium* (cf. *tra-* < *tra-* = *trans-*).

1. On the same principle are doubtless to be explained such double forms as *evori* (a), *saboros* (e), *socors* (e), *somondre* (e), *soror* (e). *Serori* occurs in a Latin inscription.

2. The prefix *eccu-*, under the influence of *ac* and *atque*, became **accu-* in southern Gaul and elsewhere: *aco* < **accu'hoc*, *aque* < **accu'llum*, *aquest* < **accu'istum*, *aqui* < **accu'hic*. *Eissi* < *ecce hic* sometimes becomes *aissi* through the analogy of *aissi* < *ac sic*.

3. In such forms as *tresanar*, the prefix *tres-* is French.

* 44. Local or partial phonetic changes affected the initial

syllable of many words: *demandar* (do-) < *demandāre*, *emplir* (üm-) < *implēre*; *ciutat ciutat* < *civitätē*; *eissir issir* < *exīre*, *getar gitar* < **jēctāre*; *crear criar* < *creāre*; *merce* (mar-) < *mercēdem*; *delgat* (dal-) < *delicātum*.

1. Nearly everywhere there is a tendency to change e to o, u, or ü before a labial, especially before m: *premier premier prumier*, *remas romas*, *semblar somblar*, *trebalh trubalh*. So *de ves* > **do ves* > *dous*.

2. In the 13th century, nearly everywhere, *iu* > *ieu*: *piucela pieucela*.

3. Many dialects of the north and west change ei and e to i: *deisendre dissendre*, *eissam issam*, *eissi issi*, *eissilh issilh*, *leisso lisso*, *meitat mitat*; *degerir* (i), *denhar* (i), *disnar*, *en in*, *enfern* (i), *entrar* (i), *envers* (i), *escien icient*, proclitic *est ist*, *estar* (i), *estiers* (i), *Felip* (i), *gelos* (i), *genhos* (i), *genolh* (i), *gequir* (i), *guereiar* (i), *guerensa* (i), *i(n)vern*, *isnel irnel*, *peior pigor*, proclitic *per pir*, *premier* (i), *semblar* (i), *serven* (i), *serventes* (i), *sevals* (i), *trebalhar* (i), *tremblar* (i). In *disnar*, *ivern*, *isnel* only i is found. In some dialects there is an alternation of e and i, e being used when there is an í in the next syllable, i when there is none: *fenit*, *sirvén*. In *vezi* < *vīcīnum* the e probably goes back to V. L.: cf. Fr.

4. In a few dialects e in hiatus with a following vowel becomes i: *crear criar*, *leal lial*, *prear priar*, *preon prion*, *real rial*.

5. In many dialects of the north and west e has a tendency to become a before r: *guerentia garensa*, *merce marce*, *pergamen pargamen*.

6. In some dialects there is a tendency to assimilate e to an á in the next syllable: *delgat dalgat*, *gigant iaian*, *deman* (a), *semblar* (a), *serrar* (a), *tremblar* (a). So *de vás* (§ 42, 1) > *da vás* > *davas*; hence *daus*, under the influence of *deus* > *de ves*.

INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

45. The term *intertonic* is applied to the syllable that follows the secondary (§ 18) and precedes the primary accent. In this position all vowels, except a, regularly disappeared in popular words, probably between the 5th and the 8th century¹; a apparently remained: **būllicāre* > *boiar* (bollegar),

¹ The period of the fall of the intertonic vowel covers, in part, the period of the voicing of intervocalic surds (§ 65); sometimes the vowel fell too soon for the surd

bõñtãtem > bontat, **carricãre* > carcar cargar, *caballicãre* > cavalcar cavalgar, *cẽrẽbẽllum* > cervel, *civitatẽm* > ciutat, *cõllõcãre* > colcar colgar, *dẽlicãtum* > delcat delgat, *excommunicãre* **excommiñicãre* > escomeniar, *vẽrẽcũndia* > vergonha; *calamẽllum* > calameç, *invadẽre* **invadire* > envazir, *margarita* > margarida, *mĩrabĩlia* > miravilha, *parav(e)rẽdus* > palafres.

1. The vowel is preserved in a number of words in which it originally bore the secondary accent (§ 18): *abbrẽviãre* > abreuvar, *cupiditatẽm* > co-beitat, **ericiõnem* > erisso; on the other hand, **cominĩtiãre* (through **comin'tiãre*) > comensar, *partitiõnem* (through **pãrtiõnem*) > parso. Cf. *Zs.*, XXVII, 576, 684, 693, 698, 701, 704. When kept, the vowel is sometimes altered: **carõnea* **carõnedãta* > caraunhada, **cupiditõsus* > cobeitos cobitos, *pãpiliõnem* > pabalho.

2. The prefix *mĩnus-* was reduced to *mis-* (or *mes-*) in Gaul, perhaps at the close of the Vulgar Latin period: **mĩnus-prẽtiãt* > mespreza. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 43, 44.

3. *Mostier* is from **monistẽrium*, altered, by the influence of *ministẽrium*, from *monastẽrium*. *Comprãr* is from V. L. *comperare*. *Calmelh calmelha* (cf. *calamel* above) are Provençal formations from *calm*. *Caresma* or *caresme*, from *quadragẽsĩma*, is probably French. *Anedier* < *anatarium* shows the influence of *anẽt anet* < *anãtem* (§ 50).

4. In learned words the vowel is generally preserved: *irregulãr*, *irritãr*, *pelicãn*, *philozophia*. The vowel is, however, often altered, the exchange of e and i being particularly frequent: *esperit*, *femenil*, *orifãn*, *peligri (e)*, *soteirãn (sotrãn)* < *subterraneum* influenced by *dereirãn* and *primeirãn*.

46. Very often the intertonic vowel was preserved by the analogy of some cognate word or form in which that vowel was stressed: *devinãr* through *devin*, *finimẽn* through *finir*, *guerreiãr* through *guerrẽia*, *noiridũra* through *noirir*, *oblidãr* through *oblit*, *pertusãr* through *pertũsa*, *reusar* through *reũsa*, *servidõr* through *servire*.

to be voiced, sometimes it did not. The relation of the fall of unstressed vowels to the development of intervocalic consonants, in French, has been examined by L. Clédát in the *Revue de philologie française*, in a series of articles beginning XVII, 122. Cf. P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 84-90.

1. In such cases the preserved vowel is sometimes altered, the exchange of e and i being especially common: *avinén, covinén, sovinénsa*, cf. *venír, ven*; *enginhár, enginhós*, cf. *genh*; *envelzár*, cf. *vil*; *gememén*, cf. *gemír*; *issarnít (eissernít)*, from *excèrnère*; *randóla*, from *hiründüla*, perhaps influenced by *randón*; *temerós (o)*, from **timorōsus*, influenced by *temér*; *traazó (i)*, from *tradiñonem*, with a substitution of suffix; *volentièrs*, from *voluntarius*, under the influence of *volén < volentem*.

PENULT.

47. (1) The vowel of the penult of proparoxytones fell in many words in Vulgar Latin, especially between a labial and another consonant, and between two consonants one of which was a liquid: **avica* > **auca*, *cōm(i)tem*, *cōmp(u)tum*, *dēb(i)tum*, *dōm(i)nus*¹; *alt(e)ra*, *vīg(i)lat*, *cal(i)dus*, *vīr(i)dem*; *frig(i)dus*, *nītīdus* > **nītītus*, *pōs(i)tus*, *pūtīdus* > **pūtītus*.

(2) The classic Latin *-culus* comprises an original *-clus* (*sæclum*) and an original *-culus* (*auricūla*). In popular Latin both were *-clus* (**macla*, *ōclus*, etc.), to which was assimilated *-tūlus* in current words (*vētūlus* > *vēclus*, etc.).

(3) Many popular words which in Vulgar Latin had very generally lost the vowel were for some reason introduced into southern Gaul in their classical forms, and not a few were adopted both in the uncontracted and in the syncopated state: *fragīlem* > *frágel* (cf. Fr. *fraile*, It. *frale*), *jūvēnem* > *iōve* (cf. Fr. *iuevne*); *clēricum* > *clērgue* *clēr'cum* > *clērc*, *dēbī-tum* > *deute* *dēb'tum* > *depte*, *flēbilem* > *frēvol* *flēb'lem* > *frēble*, *mal'habītum* > *malaute* *mal'hab'tum* > *malapte*, *nītīdum* > *neđe* **nītītum* > *neť*, *hōmīnem* > *ome* *hōm'nem* > *omne*, *pōpū-lum* > *pōbol* *pōp'lum* > *pōble*.

1. *Cōgnītum* seems to have become **cōnhede*, whence *coinde cuende conge*. Cf. § 79, Gnd, Gnt.

¹ *Domnus* may be the older form.

↓48. The unaccented penult vowels that had not already fallen disappeared, in most cases, in the transition from Latin to Provençal: **carricat* > *carca*, *cöllöcat* > *çolca*, *cürrëre* > *çorre*, *spathüla* > *espatla*, **ëssëre* (= *ësse*) > *ëstre*, *ī(n)süla* *isla*, *pëssimum* > *peşme*, *pönëre* > *ponre*, **rüdëre* > *rire*, *tabüla* > *taula*, *töllëre* > *tolre*.

1. A apparently was more tenacious than other vowels, and frequently remained as an indistinct e: *anätëm* > *ánet*, which, being associated with the diminutive ending *-ët*, became *anét* (cf. modern Pr. *anèdo*); *cannäbim* > *cánebe* (learned?); *cöläphum* > **cólebe* > *çolbe*, but *cölphum* > *çolp*; *Stëphännum* > *Estëve*; *lampäda* > *lámpeza*; *örgännum* > *órguene* (later *orguéne*) *órgue*; *örphännum* > *orfe*; *raphännum* > *ráfe*; *Rhöddännum* > *Rözer*; **sëcäle* (= *sëcäle*) > *séguel* (but cf. modern *segle selho*). Cf. A. Thomas in the *Journal des savants*, June, 1901, p. 370. See also P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 90-94. Cf. § 45, footnote. It is noteworthy that **cólebe* ultimately lost its penult, while the other words lost the final syllable or none.

49. Under certain conditions, however, a vowel which had not fallen in the Latin of southern Gaul was often kept in Provençal. It was then probably indistinct in sound, and was written usually *e*, but occasionally *o*.

(1) After *c'*, *g'*, or *y* the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others. When the *c'*, *g'*, or *y* was intervocalic, forms with and without the vowel are about equally common; when the *c'*, *g'*, or *y* was preceded by a consonant, forms with the vowel predominate, and after cons. + *c'* the vowel was apparently never lost. After intervocalic *c'*: *cöcëre* (= *cöquëre*) > *çoire çozër*, *dïcëre* > *dire dízer*, *dücëre* > *düire* **düizer* (*condücir dedüzir*), *facëre* > *faire* **fázer* (*fazedor*, etc.), *gracïlem* > *graile*, **nöcëre* (= *nöcëre*) > *noïre nozer*, *placïtum* > *plach*, *söcërum* > *sozer* (*sogre* is from *söcrum*), **vöcïtum* (= *vacuum*) > *vuech*. After intervocalic *g'* or *y*: *bajülus* > *bailes*, *fragïlem* > *frágel*, *imagïnem* > *imáge*, *lëgëre* > *leïre legír* (through **leger*?), *rígïdum* > *reïde rege*, *rígïda* >

regeza, *tragēre (= trahēre) > traire tragír (through *tráger?). After cons. + c': *carcer* > cárcer, *crēscēre* > creisser, *nascēre* > náisser, *pascēre* > páisser, *parcēre* > párcer, *tōrcēre (= tōrquēre) > tōrzer. After cons. + g' or y: *angēlum* > ángel (learned?), *cōll'gēre (= cōlligēre, through cōlligo etc.) > çołre cuelher colhír, *dē-ēr'gēre (= ērigēre) > dēdre dērzer, *fūlgērem (from *fūlger* = *fūlgur*) > fōuzer, *jūngēre* > iõnher, *marginem* > marge, *plangēre* > planher, *vīrgīnem* > vėrgena vėrge.

(2) After ks, s, ss, and sy the vowel was apparently retained in some dialects and lost in others: *dīxērunt* > diron disseron (through *dīsseron)¹, *dūxērunt* > düystrent düisseron (*dúisseron), *fraxīnum* > fraisne fraisse, *traxērunt* > traisseron (*tráisseron), *tōxicum* > tuėissec; *asīnum* > asne ase, *mīsērūm* > miser (learned), *prē(n)sērunt > preson prezeron (*prezeron), *rema(n)sērunt* > remastrent remaşeron (*remáseron); *ēssēre (= ēsse) > ęstre ęsser (used in Rouergue, Limousin, Marche, and Dauphiné), *mīssērunt (= mīsērunt) > mestrunt (meşdren) meseron (*messeron), *passērem* > pásser; *cō(n)-siēre (= consuēre) > çoşer (cozír is from V. L. *cosīre).

(3) Between a labial and a dental the vowel was apparently kept: *cūpīdum* > çobe, *fēmīna* > femena feme' (but *fēm'na* > femna), *jūvēnem* > iove, **lūmīnem* > lüme (*lūmen* > lüm), *hōmīnem* > ómen óme (but *hōm'nēm* > omne), *tēpīdum* > tēbe, *tērmīnum* > tērme. Cf. § 48, 1.

(4) Between a dental and a guttural the vowel remained long enough for the guttural to become y (§ 52; § 65, G): *mēdicum* > *međegu > *međeye > međže (= mege). If the first consonant was a liquid or a nasal, the vowel apparently allowed the guttural to become y in some dialects, but not in

¹ The change of accent, in this verb and others, was due to the analogy of the first and fourth conjugations (*cantēron*, *sentīron*) and to the influence of the second person plural (*dissētz*).

others: **carricat* > caria carga, *clēricum* > clērie clērgue, *mōnāchum* > monie mongue. *Caballīcat* > cavalga, *cōllōcat* > çolca çolga show an earlier fall. In *clēr'cum* > clerc the fall goes back to Latin times.

50. Some learned proparoxytones kept for a while both post-tonic vowels (usually written *e*), but most of them ultimately either shifted their accent to the penult (§ 17, 1) or dropped their final syllable: *domēstīcum* > domēstegue, *lacrima* > lāgrema, *mēritum* > mērite, *hōrrīda* > çreza, *rēgimen* > régeme; *fīstūla* > festóla, *fragīlem* > fragíl, *mēritum* > merit, *tērmīnum* > termíni; *diacōnum* > diágue, *flēbīlem* > frevol (cf. *flēb'lem* > freble), *nītidum* > neđe (cf. **nittum* > neť), *ōrdīnem* > órde, *pōpūlum* > poḃol (cf. *pōp'lum* > poḃle), *prīncīpem* > príncep prínce. Cf. § 47, (3).

FINAL SYLLABLE.

51. As early as the 8th century, in popular words, the vowels of final syllables fell, the fall occurring first, perhaps, after liquids: *hērī* > er, *malē* > mal; *bōnūs* > bos, *cōlāphūm* > çolp, *cōgīto* > cüg, *panēm* > pan, *prētiūm* > preťz.

(1) Latin a, however, remained, being generally pronounced a: *audiām* > auia, *bōnā* > bona, *filiās* > filḃas.¹

(2) Latin final *i* probably remained in all dialects later than the 8th century, and in some until the beginning of the literary period: *hábui* > águi > aguí. Before it fell, it changed an accented *e* in the preceding syllable to *i*: see § 27.

(3) Latin *i* and *u* remained if they were immediately

¹In most of the modern dialects (but not in Gascony and lower Languedoc) this a has become o: *rosa* > *roso*. But in the Limousin dialects and some others -as > -a: *rosas* > *rosa*.

preceded by an accented vowel: *fuī* > *fii*, *mēi* > *mei*, *sūi* > *soi*; *cavum* **caum* > *chau*, *dēus* > *deus*, *ēgo* **ēo* **ēu* > *eu*, *rīvum* *rīum* < *riu*. In such cases the two vowels formed a diphthong.

(4) Before final nt Latin e, u remained as e, o: *cantent* > *canten*, *vēndunt* > *vendon*.

1. In Aude, Tarn, Aveyron, Corrèze, and a part of Haute-Garonne, final *ī* was preserved as late as the 12th century: *pagadi*, *salvi*, *solī*. See *Rom.*, XIV, 291-2. Such forms occur also in Vaud and Dauphiné. Cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 82.

2. In the extreme east there are traces of final *-ōs*: *aquestos*, *ellos*, *tantos*.

3. *Grau* for *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* for *ni* < *nīdum* are Catalan. *Amiu* for *amic* < *amīcum*, *chastiu* for *chastic* < *castīgo* belong to the dialect of Forez, and point to a very early fall of the guttural in that dialect. Cf. § 65, D, G.

4. *Ferre* beside the commoner *fer* < *fērrum* is perhaps due to the analogy of *terra*. *Aire*, *vaire*, beside *air* < *aĕrem*, *vair* < *varium*, probably show the influence of the numerous nouns in *-aire* (*amaire*, etc.); cf. § 52, (1). *Fores* is doubtless a cross between *foras* < *fōras* and *fors* < *fōris*. *Nemes* beside *nems* < *nīmis*, *senes* beside *sens* < *sīne* perhaps follow the analogy of *fors fores*. For *colbe*, see § 48, 1. *Reide rede* perhaps owes its *-e* to *rege*: § 49, (1).

5. *Coma*, beside *com*, *con*, *co* < *quōmō(do)*, apparently owes its *-a* to the analogy of the adverbs *bona* and *mala* and other adverbs of manner. For a different explanation, see J. Vising in the *Tobler Festschrift* (*Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Tobler . . . dargebracht*, 1895), p. 113.

6. *Demanes* < *de manu ipsa* lost its *-a* perhaps under the influence of *ades*.

7. E seems to have been preserved in the second person singular of some verbs, to distinguish it from the third person: *co(g)nōscis* < *coņissis*, *co(g)nōscit* > *coņois*.

52. When the fall of the vowel would have resulted in an undesirable consonant group at the end of a word, the vowel was retained as an indistinct e: *dūbīto* > *dopte*, *lūcrum* > *logre*.

The principal groups that call for a supporting vowel are:

(1) a consonant and a liquid; (2) a labial and a dental; (3) in proparoxytones, a consonant and a *c'* or *c* originally separated by the vowel of the penult; (4) in proparoxytones, a consonant and an *m* or *n* originally separated by the vowel of the penult. Ex.: *inter* > entre; *aptum* > apte; **dōdēcim* > dotze, *jūdīco* > iütge; **Jacōmus* > Iacmes, *asinum* > asne.

If the word was a paroxytone, and the first consonant was a palatal and the second an *r*, the supporting vowel stood between the two: *major* > maier, *mēlior* > melher, *mūlier* > molher, *pějor* > peier, *sēnior* > senher. Otherwise the supporting vowel followed the consonant group.

The four classes of groups (aside from the palatal + *r* just mentioned) will now be examined in detail:—

(1) Examples: *alter* > autre, *Carōlus* > Carles, *dūplus* > doubles, **ēssēre* > estre, *fabrum* > fabre, **mēr(ū)lum* > merle, *nōster* > nostre, *pauper* > paubre, *pōp(ū)lum* > poble, *pōnēre* > ponre, *recipēre* > recebre, *rūmpēre* > rompre, *tōllēre* > tolre, *vōlvēre* > volvre; *masculum* > mascle, etc.; *flēb(ī)lem* > freble, etc. Under this head is included *r-r* (*cūrrere* > corre, *quærrere* > querre), but not *ll* and *rr* (*bēllum* > bel, *fērrum* > fer). In Provençal the first element was often changed, later than the 8th century, into a vowel, original *b* and *v* becoming *u*, and *d*, *t*, *c*, *g*, and *y* being turned to *i*: *bībēre* > beure, *scribēre* > escriure, **mōvēre* > moure, *plōvēre* > ploure, *vīvēre* > viure; *latro* > laire, *matrem* > maire, *radēre* > raire, **rīdēre* > rire, *vītrum* > veire; *desidēro* > desire, etc.; *amātor* > amaire, *servītor* > servire, etc.; *dīcēre* > dire, *dūcēre* > düire, *facēre* > faire, *graçilem* > graile, **tacēre* > taire; *frīgēre* > frire, *weigāro* gaire, *lēgēre* > leire; *bajūlum* > baile. Apparent exceptions to the rule are intervocalic *cl*, *gl*, which were probably reduced to single consonants before the 8th century: *ōc(ū)lum* > olh, *vīg(ī)lo* > velh.

1. The rare forms *frair*, *pair*, beside regular *fraire*, *paire*, are perhaps due to the alternative forms *air aire*, *vair vaire* (§ 51, 4). There may be a similar explanation for *faur* = *faure* < *faber*, and for the learned *albir* = *albire* < *arbitrium*. *Sor*, beside *sorre* < *sōror*, probably developed first as a proclitic.

(2) Examples: *cūbītum* > çode; *cōmītem* > comte; *dēbītum* > depte deute, § 47, (3); *dōmnum* > domne; *dūbīto* > dopte; *hōspītem* > ošte; *sabbātum* > sapte.

1. *Azaut* seems to be post-verbal from *azautar* < *adaptāre*. *Escrit* < *scriptum* probably shows the influence of *dīt* < *dictum*. *Malaut*, beside *malaute malapte* < *mal'habitum*, is perhaps reconstructed from the feminine *malauta* on the model of *aut*, *auta*. *Set* < *sēptem* must have developed as a proclitic.

(3) Examples: *jūdicem* > iütge¹; *pōllīcem* > pouze; *quīndē-cim* > quinze; *salīcem* > sauze; *sēdēcīm* > sedze; —*canōnīcum* > canonge canorgue,² § 49, (4); *clēricum* > clerge clergue (§ 48, 2); *mēdicum* > metge; *mōnāchum* > monge mongue moꝛgue,² § 49, (4); *vīndīco* > venie; *viaticum* > viatge, etc.

1. The forms *poutz*, *sautz*, beside *pouze*, *sauze*, would seem to indicate that *lc'* did not require a supporting vowel in all dialects.

2. **Ficotum* (= *jēcur*), a fusion of *σικωτόν* ('fig-fattened') and *fīcus*, combined with **hēpāte* (= *hēpar*), became **fēcatu* **fēcitu* **fēgidu*, and then, through the influence of the familiar ending *-igu* (= *icum*), **fēdigu* > *fētge*. See G. Paris in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di G. Ascoli*, 1901, p. 41; H. Schuchardt in *Zs.*, XXV, 615, and XXVIII, 435; L. Clédat in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, XV, 235. *Pege*, for *peich* < *pēctus*, seems to be due to the analogy of *fētge*.

(4) Examples: *estīmo* > esme; *dēcīmum* > deşme; *fraxī-num* > fraisne; *incūdīnem* > enclütge (cf. § 80, Dn); **met-īpsīmum* > medesme; *pēssīmum* > peşme; *prōxīmus* > proşmes.

1. *Faim* < *factīmu(s)* doubtless lost its *-e* through the analogy of the alternative form *fazem* < **factīmu(s)* and of the usual endings *-ām*, *-ēm*.

¹ The *tg* in this word is probably due to the influence of *iutiar* < *jūdīcāre*.

² The forms with *r* may be due to dissimilation or to the influence of *clergue*.

(5) In some dialects, at least, by, mby, mny, py, rny required a supporting vowel: *rübeum* > rotge, *cambio* > camie, *sömmium* > songe suenh, *apium* > ache api, *Arvërnium* > Alvernhe; ratge (= *rabiem*) is probably French. Original lm, rm, sm required a supporting vowel in some dialects but not in others: *hëlm* > elme elm, *ülmum* > olme olm, *palnum* > palm; **ërmum* (ἐρμου) > erm, *fïrmum* > ferm, *gërmen* > germe; *spasmus* > espasme.

(6) Many verbs regularly have an -e in the first person singular of the present indicative: desire, dopte, iütge, etc. By the analogy of these, -e often appears in the first person singular of verbs which need no supporting vowel: *remïro* > remir remire. By the analogy of the preterit (águi, füi, etc.), -i is very often substituted for this -e: azor azori, cant canti, pretz prezi, etc.

53. Many late words preserve the final vowel as -e: benigne, bisbe < *episcöpum*, digne (cf. denhar), mixte (cf. mest), regne (cf. reing), signe (cf. senh). Cf. § 50; (for çolbe) § 48, 1; and (for çoinde, etc.) § 47, 1. Learned formations from nouns in -ium usually end in -i, simply dropping the -um: capitoli, edifici, emperi, iüzizi, martiri (martire), neçoci, offici, periüri, remezi, servizi, vici. Similar forms in -i were sometimes taken from the accusative of nouns and adjectives in -ius: Boçi < *Boëthium*, propri (propre) < *pröprium*, savi < *sabium*.

1. It should be remembered that the Latin words, at the time of their adoption, had undergone various phonetic changes in the clerical pronunciation: cf. § 15. A form *remesi*, for instance, presupposes a pronunciation of *remëdium* as remeðiu(m).

3. CONSONANTS.

54. The Latin consonants which we have to consider are: b, c (=k), d, f, g, h, j (=y), l, m, n, p, qu (=kw), r, s, t, v (=w), x (=ks). To these we must add the Vulgar Latin w coming from u, and y coming from e, i: see § 40, (2). Furthermore, in words borrowed from Germanic dialects we find b, ð, h, k, p, w, which call for special notice; and, in words borrowed from Greek, ch, k, ph, th, z.

The Latin d, f, j, l, p, t call for no remark at present. Latin h, in popular speech, became silent very early (*hōc* > *ōc*, *hōmo* > *ōmo*), and, although an attempt was made to restore it in polite speech, it left no trace in the Romance languages: cf. *Rom.*, XI, 399. Double consonants were pronounced distinctly longer than single ones: *annus*, *ille*, *ōssum*, *tērra*.

55. Latin b, c, g, m, n, qu, r, s, v, w, x, y show the following developments in popular Latin speech:—

B between vowels became, through failure to close the lips tightly, β (bilabial v), from the 1st to the 3d century of our era: *habēre* > aβere. The same change took place, to a certain extent, when the b was not intervocalic, but we have few, if any, traces of it in Provençal. Between vowels, even in learned words, the clerical pronunciation was probably β or v until the 7th century. Cf. V.

C before a front vowel (e, i), as early as the 3d century, doubtless had, in nearly all the Empire, a front or palatal articulation; that is, it was formed as close as possible to the following vowel¹: *cēntum* > c'ēntu, *dūcēre* > dūc'ēre. The next step was the introduction of an audible glide, a brief y, between the c' and the vowel²: c'yēntu, dūc'yere. By the

¹ Compare, in English, the *c* of *coo* and the *k* of *key*.

² Compare the old-fashioned pronunciation of words like *card*, *kind*.

5th century this *c'y* had developed into a kind of *ty*, the *c'* having been drawn still further forward: *t'yentu du'tyere*. Through a modification of the *y*-glide, the group then became, in the 6th or 7th century, *tš* or *ts*: *tšentu tsentu*. See H. Schuchardt, *Voc.*, I, 151, and *Ltblt.*, XIV, 360; P. E. Guarnerio, in *Supplementi all' Archivio glottologico italiano*, IV (1897), pp. 21-51 (cf. *Rom.*, XXX, 617); G. Paris, in the *Journal des savants*, 1900, 359, in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, 1893, 7, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, 81, and in *Rom.*, XXXIII, 322; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, pp. 123-126; F. G. Mohl, *Zs.*, XXVI, 595; P. Marchot, *Phon.*, pp. 51-53; P. Meyer, *Die Aussprache des c und t im klassischen Latein*, 1902. Cf. G and X.¹

G between vowels, before the accent, disappeared in some words in at least a part of the Empire: *le(g)ālis*, *li(g)āmen*, *re(g)ālis*, (*realis* is attested for the 8th century); *ēgo*, generally used as a proclitic, everywhere lost its *g*; on the other hand, *g* was kept in *castigāre*, *fatigāre*, *ligāre*, *negāre*, *pagānus*. G before a front vowel (*e*, *i*), by the 1st or 2d century, was pronounced *g'* (cf. C): *gēntem* > *g'ēnte*, *fragīlis* > *frag'īlis*. As early as the 4th century this *g'*, through failure to form a close articulation, opened into *y*²: *yente*, *fráyilis*. Before an accented *e* or *i* an intervocalic *y* disappeared, in the greater part of the Empire, being fused with the vowel: *magīster* > *mayīster* > *maēster*, **pagēnsis* > *payēsis* > *paēsis*, *regīna* > *re-yīna* > *reīna*.¹

M and n, when final, were weak and indistinct from the earliest times, except in monosyllables; by the 3d or 4th cen-

¹ For final *-ci*, *-gi* in plurals, see § 92, (2).

² Before this, *frigidus* had become *frīgdus* in Italy and Gaul.

tury they had probably disappeared altogether from the end of polysyllables: *damnu*, *nome*; but *jam*, *non*.

N before spirants (f, j, s, v), except in the prefixes *con-* and *in-*, became silent during the Republican period, the preceding vowel, if it was short, being lengthened by compensation¹: *mē(n)sis*, *pē(n)sare*. If the syllable *con-* or *in-* was not recognized as a prefix, the n fell: *co(n)sul*, *co(n)ventum*, *i(n)fas*. In learned and newly constructed words the n was pronounced. Cf. M.

Qu, gu before o or u were reduced to c, g in the 1st or 2d century: see W.

R before s, in a number of words, became s in the Republican period: *deōrsu(m) > deōssu(m)*, *dōrsu(m) > dōssu(m)*, *sūrsu(m) > sūssu(m)*; so, in a part of the Empire, *pērsica > pēssica*, *vērsus* (preposition) *> vēssus*. Early in our era ss after a long vowel was reduced to s: *deōsu*, *sūsu*.

S was probably always voiceless, or surd, in classic Latin, but became voiced between vowels, in Gaul, at the end of the Vulgar Latin period: *casa*. To initial s + consonant an i or e was prefixed, at first, no doubt, after a word ending in a consonant: *in schōla > in iscōla*; this process began in the 2d century and had become general by the 4th.

V, originally pronounced w, became β probably in the 1st century: *vivēre > βīβēre*. Before u, v regularly disappeared, but it was restored by analogy in many words: *flavus > flaus*, *ōvum > ōum*, *rivus > rius*; but also *ōvum*, *rivus*, by the analogy of *ova*, *rivi*. In the greater part of the Empire v apparently fell also before an accented o: *pavōnem > paōne*, *pavōrem > paōre*. Cf. W. When a β, representing either b or v,

¹ It is natural to suppose that the n, in falling, nasalized the vowel; but no trace of this nasality remains.

became contiguous to a following consonant, it changed to u: **avica* > aβica > auca, *gabāta* > gaβata > gauta, **flavītat* > flaβītat > flautat. In several words rv became rb in Latin: *vervēcem* > berbēce berbice, *cōrvus* > cōrbus, *cūrvus* > cūrbus.

W coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from ū (§ 40) differed from Latin *v*, then pronounced β, but was probably identical with Germanic *w*: *dēbuī* > dēbwi, *placuī* > placwi *sapuit* > sapwit, *tēnuis* > tēnwis. W fell between a consonant and o or u: *antiquus* > anticus, *battuo* > batto, *carduus* > cardus, *cōquus* > çoqus, *distīguo* > distīngo, *mōrtuus* > mōrtus; so *eccu'hōc* > Pr. aco. Cf. Qu.

X (=ks) was reduced to s, in the 2d or 3d century, before a consonant or at the end of a word of more than one syllable: *sēstus*, *sēnes*; but *sēx*. So the prefix *ex-* > *es-* before any consonant but s: **exgaudēre* > Pr. esiauzir, **exlucēre* < Pr. esluzir, **exmittēre* > Pr. esmētre. *Ex-* + s apparently became either *ex-* or *ess-*: **exsanguinātum* > Pr. eissancnat, **exserāre* > Pr. eissarrar esserrar, **exsaritāre* > Pr. eissartar, **exsēquēre* > Pr. essegre, **exsürgēre* > Pr. essorger, **exsūcāre* > Pr. eissügar essügar.

Y coming, in the 2d or 3d century, from *e* or *i*, (§ 40) coincided with Latin *j*: *habeam* > abya, *eāmus* > yamus, *tēneat* > tēnyat; *audio* > audyo, *fīlia* > fīlya, *vēniat* > vēnyat. As early as the 4th century the groups *dy*, *gy* were reduced to *y*; and *ly*, *ny* probably became *l'*, *n'*: *mēdius* > mēdyus > mēyus, *corrīgia* > corrīgya > correya; *mēlior* > mēlyor > mēlor, *tēneo* > tēnyo > tēno.

56. Germanic b, ð, h, k, þ, w call for special mention:—

B did not participate in the change of Latin intervocalic *b* to β: *roubōn* > Pr. raubar. The words containing it were evidently adopted after this phonetic law had ceased to operate.

ð, þ were pronounced by the Latins as d, t: **waiðanjan* > **wadanyāre* > Pr. *gazanhar* (It. *guadagnare*), *prēscañ* > **trescāre* > Pr. *trescar*.

H, at the beginning of a word, was lost in the greater part of the Empire, including southern Gaul: *hapja* > **apya* > Pr. *apcha*. H between vowels was lost in some words and replaced by *kk* in others: *spēhôn* > Pr. *espiar*, *fēhu* > Pr. *feū*; *jēhan* > **yekkirē* > Pr. *gequir*. Ht was regularly replaced by *tt*: *slahta* > **sclatta* > Pr. *esclata*; but *wahta*, perhaps borrowed later, became Pr. *gaita*.

K, in southern Gaul, did not take the palatal pronunciation before front vowels: *skērnon* > Pr. *esquernir*, *skina* > Pr. *esquina*, *skiuhan* > Pr. *esquivar*, **rik-ītia* > Pr. *riqueza*; only the derivatives of *Franko* (doubtless Latinized early) show palatalization, as **Francia* > Pr. *Fransa*. G, however, seems to have been palatalized: *gīga* > Pr. *giga*, *geisla* > Pr. *gisclē*. Before a, in words introduced early, k and g were treated like Latin c and g: *kausjan* > Pr. *cauzir chاوزير*, *gāhi* > Pr. *gai iai*; see § 11, (1).

W was vigorously pronounced, and, through reinforcement of its velar element, came to be sounded *gw*: *warjan* > **warīre gwarīre* > Pr. *garir*, *wērra* > **wērra gwērra* > Pr. *guerra*.

57. Greek ζ, θ, κ, φ, χ did not exactly correspond to any Latin consonants: —

Z, whatever may have been its original pronunciation, received in Vulgar Latin the value *dy*, which then, like any other *dy*, became *y*: **zelōsus* (from ζῆλος) = *dyelōsus yelōsus* > Pr. *gelōs*. The infinitive ending *-ίζειν*, introduced in such words as βαπτίζειν > *baptizāre* = *bapti(d)yāre*, became very common in the form *-idyāre -iyāre*, and was used to make

new verbs: *wërra* + *ίζειν* > **werridyäre gwerriyäre* > Pr. *guer-reiar*.

θ, in the popular speech of Rome, was replaced by *t*: similarly *χ* was replaced by *c*: *σπαθή* > *spatha* = *spata*; *χορδή* > *chörda* = *çorda*.

κ was apparently intermediate in sound between Latin *c* and *g*; it was generally replaced by the former, but sometimes by the latter: *κατά* > *cata*, *κυβερνᾶν* > *gubernare*.

φ, in Greek, was in early times (perhaps until the 4th century of our era) a strongly explosive *p*; it then developed into *f*. In words borrowed by the Romans in the early period it was replaced by *p*; in later words it was sounded *f*: *κόλαφος* > *cöläphus* = *çolapus*, *φασίολος* > *phaseölus faseölus*.

58. The fate of all these consonants in Provençal depended largely on their position in the word: we must therefore distinguish *initial*, *medial*, and *final* consonants. In a general way, the first tended to remain unchanged, the second to weaken, the third to disappear. Furthermore we must separate single consonants from consonant groups: the latter resisted change better than the former; but a group consisting of dissimilar elements tended to assimilate them.

INITIAL CONSONANTS.

59. A consonant preceded by a prefix was treated as an initial consonant as long as the character of this preceding syllable was recognized: *de-cadēre* > *decazer*, *de-pingēre* > *depenher*, *præ-parāre* > *preparar*, *re-cordāre* > *recordar*, *re-patriāre* > *repairar*, *re-pausāre* > *repausar*, *se-dücēre* > *sedüire*. If, however, the initial syllable ceased to be recognized as a prefix, the following consonant was treated as a medial con-

sonant: *præpōsitum* > prebōst, *retōrta* > redōrta; so, perhaps, *profūndum* > preõn. The rare rebõnre (beside reponre) < *re-põnēre* has the special sense 'to bury'.

SINGLE INITIAL CONSONANTS.

60. B, d, l, m, n, p, r, s, t underwent no change: ben, don, loç, meç, nau, pauc, rius, si, tü.

1. For *cremetar* < **tremitäre*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 194. For *granolha* < **ranüçüla*, see Körting, *ranuculus*.

61. C, c', f, g, g', β, y suffered some change. C, g must be distinguished from c', g': § 55, C, G.

C, g before o, u remained unchanged: *colōrem* > colōr, *cūra* > cūra; *gūla* > gōla, *gūtta* > gōta. Before a they changed only in the north and northeast, where they became (perhaps from the 7th to the 9th century) respectively tš and dž: *campus* > camps champs; *gaudēre* > gauzir iauzir.

C' > ts, which just before and during the literary period was reduced to s: *cælum* > çel seł, *civitatē* > ciutat ciptat siptat. For g', see Y.

Y, comprising Latin dy, g', gy, j, and z, became dž (except in Béarn, where it remained y): *diurnālem* > iornal (yornal), *deō(r)sum* > iõs; *gēlus* > gełs, *gentilem* > gentil (yentil), *gīrāre* > girar; *jam* > ia, *jōcum* > iõç (yoç), *jūvēm* > iõve; *zelōsus* > gełõs.

F remained unchanged, except in Béarn and a part of Gascony, where it became h: *famem* > fam ham, *fīdem* > fe he, *fōcum* > fõç hüç, *fōlia* > fuelha huelha.

β > v (the dentilabial spirant), except in Béarn, Gascony, and parts of Languedoc, where it became b: *vēnit* > ven be, *vēntum* > vent bent, *vērsus* (§ 55, R) > veș beș, *võs* > voș boș.

1. In a few words β , owing to Germanic influence, was replaced by $w > gw$: *vadum + watan > gua*, *vastare + wōst > guastar*. So *vagīna > guatīna*, *Vascōnia > Gasconha*. Cf. *gw* below.

INITIAL GROUPS.

62. There are three classes of groups: those ending in *l* or *r*, those ending in *w*, and those beginning with *s*: —

(1) *Bl*, *br*, *cl*, *cr*, *dr*, *gl*, *gr*, *pl*, *pr*, *tr* underwent no change: *blasphemāre > blasmar*, *brēvem > brēu*, *clarus > clars*, *crūcem > crōtz*, *drappus > draps*, *glaciem > glatz*, *gradum > gra*, *plēnum > plēn*, *precāre > pregar*, *trans > tras*. *Gras* is from *grassus*, a fusion of *crassus* and *grossus*. For *grocs* < *κρόκος* see § 57, *κ*.

(2) *Gw* (Germanic *w*) and *kw* (Latin *qu*) were reduced, perhaps in the 10th century, to *g* and *k*, except in the west, where the *w* was retained: *wahta > gaita* *guita*, *warjan > garir* *guarir*, *wērra > gerra* *guerra*, *wīsa > gisa* *guisa*; *quando > can* *quan*, *quare > car* *quar*. It should be noted that the *u* was commonly kept in the spelling (especially before *e* and *i*) after it had ceased to be pronounced, *gu* and *qu* being regarded merely as symbols for "hard" *g* and *c*. For *cinc* < *quīnque*, see § 87, *kw*. *Sw* remained in *suavem > suau*.

(3) To groups beginning with *s* a vowel had been prefixed in Vulgar Latin (§ 55, *S*); this vowel appears in Provençal as *e*. *Sc'* apparently did not occur in any popular word; *sl* early became *scl*; the other groups (*sc*, *scl*, *scr*, *sp*, *st*, *str*) remained unchanged, except that in the north and northeast *sc > stš* before *a*: *scala > escala* *eschala*, *schōla > esçola*, *slahta > *sclatta > esclata*, *scribēre > escriure*, *spīna > espina*, *stare > estar*, *strīngēre > estreñher*.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

63. (1) It is well to note at the outset that when, through the fall of an unaccented vowel (§ 51), an early Provençal b, d, dz, dž, g, z, or ž was made final or contiguous to a final s, it became voiceless: *ōpus* > *ōbus* > *ōbs* *ops*, *ōrbum* > *ōrbu* > *ōrb* *or̄p*: *datum* > *dadu* > *dad* *dat*, *vīridem vīrdem* > *verde* > *verd* *vert*; *prētium* > *pr̄dzu* > *pr̄dz* *pr̄ts* (written *pretz*), *vōcem* > *vōdze* > *vōdz* *vōts* (written *votz*); *mēdium* > *meyu* *mēdžu* > *mēdž* *mētš* (written *meg* or *mech*); *amīcus* > *amigus* > *amigs* *amics*, *largum* > *largu* > *larg* *larc*; *rīsum* > *rizu* > *riz* *ris*; *basium* > *bažu* > *baiž* *baiš* (*bais*). The combination *tžs*, however, loses either its second or its third element: **gaudios* > *gautšs* > *gautš* or *gauts* (both of them often written *gaugz*); so *nōctes* > *nuetšs* > *nuetš* or *nuets* (*nuegz*). For *apud* > *ab ap am an*, see § 65, P, 2.

(2) Under the same conditions, y became i: *vīdeo* > *veyo* > *vey* *vei*, *pējus* > *pėjus* > *pėjys* *piėjis*.

(3) Under the same conditions, ð, coming from intervocalic d, fell when final, but became t before s: *audit* > *auđi* > *auđ* *au*; *crūdus* > *cruđus* > *cruds* *crüts*. So *crūdum* > *crü*, *fīdem* > *fe*, *fraudem* > *frau*, *gradum* > *gra*, *nīdum* > *ni*, *nōdum* > *no*, *pēdem* > *pe*, *sapidum* > *sabe*, *tēpidum* > *tebe*; *grados* > *grats*, *nōdus* > *nots*, *nūdus* > *nüts*, *pēdes* > *pęts*. The two sets of forms influenced each other: hence *degras*, *fes*,¹ *nis*, *pes*, etc.; *crut*, *grat*, *not*, *nut*,¹ etc.

(4) Under the same conditions, β, coming from v or from intervocalic b, became u if preceded by a vowel, but fell if preceded by a consonant: *bībit* > *beβi* > *beβ* *beu*, *vīvit* > *βiβi* > *βiβ* *viu*, *claves* > *claβes* > *claβs* *claus*, *vīvus* > *βiβus* >

¹ *Fes*, *nut*, which quite supplanted the regular forms, perhaps show the influence of *res*, *mut*.

βiβs vius; *salvet* > sal, *salvum* > sal, *sěrvit* > sięr, *něrvos* > nęrs, *salvus* > sals, *sěrvus* > sęrs. Sometimes, however, final β preceded by a consonant, instead of falling, became f: *salvet* > salf, *salvum* > salf, *sěrvit* > sięrf, *vōlvit* > vōlf; it may be that these are the only regular forms for cons. + β when final, and that *sal*, *sier* are due to the analogy of *sals*, *siers*.

(5) Under the same conditions, final n, if preceded by a vowel, was kept in the extreme west, parts of the north, and all the southeast and east, but fell everywhere else; n before s was generally kept only in the southeast and east: *bēne* > be ben, *canem* > ca can, *sōnum* > so son¹; *bōnus* > bos bons, *mansiōnes* > maisōs maisons. If the n was preceded by a consonant (r), the fall seems to have been even commoner: *cōrnu* > cōr cōrn, *tōrno* > tōr tōrn; *diūrnus* > iōrs iōrns. Provençal n coming from nn never falls: *annus* > ans.

(6) Under the same conditions, g, representing original c or g, became c after o or u, and after other vowels either became c or was changed to i (which fused with a preceding i): *fōcum* > fōc, *lōcus* > lōcs, *paucum* > pauc, *Hūgo* > Uc; *Aureliācum* > Aurelhac, *dīco* > dic di, *Henricum* > Enric Enri, **trago* > trac trai. The forms with c are the commoner; they have been most persistent in the west.

(7) The vocalization of l before s (*malus* > maus) is a different phenomenon from the foregoing, and will be treated by itself: § 65, L.

(8) An m or an n that becomes contiguous to final s often develops into mp or nt, but oftener (judging from the spellings) does not: *nīmīs* > nęms nęmps, *rēmos* > ręmps; *annos* > ans anz, *gēnus* > gęs gęns genz.

¹ By analogy of such double forms, n is sometimes added to a few words ending in a vowel: *fūit* > fo fon, *prō* > pro prōn.

(9) Between a liquid or a nasal and a final s, a b or a p generally fell, unless supported by the analogy of a form in which the b or p was final: *ambos* > *ams ambs*, *cõrpus* > *cors*, *tẽmpus* > *tems temps*; cf. *balbs* (*balb*), *orbs* (*orb*).

1. The d, n, t of the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, *in*, *aut*, *et* will be treated under Final Consonants.

64. Final ts from any source, in Provence, Limousin, and a part of Languedoc and Gascony, was reduced, during the literary period, to s: *amãtis* > *amatz amas*, *habẽtis* > *avẽtz avẽs*, *dĩcit* > *ditz dis*, *grandes* > *granz grans*, *latus* > *latz las*, *prẽtium* > *prẽtz prẽs*. On the other hand, in a part of Limousin (especially in Limoges), and also in Dauphiné, -ts, in the second person plural of verbs, became t: *habẽtis* > *avẽt*.

SINGLE MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

65. The single medial consonants will now be considered separately, in alphabetical order: —

β , coming from b or v, became v; except in the west and a part of the centre, where, if it remained intervocalic, it changed to b: *habẽtis* > *avẽtz abẽtz*, *debẽre* > *dever deber*, *faba* > *fava faba*; *avãrum* > *avar*, *ãstiva* > *estiva*, *brẽvem* > *brẽu*,¹ *clavem* > *clau*, *dĩe Jõvis* > *diiõus*, *lẽvat* > *lẽva*, *novẽlla* > *novẽla nabẽra* (Gascon), *vĩvus* > *vius*. When the preceding or following vowel was o or u, a β before the accent fell in most dialects, being fused with the vowel: *abũndare* > *aondar abondar*, *gũbẽrnare* > *goernar governar*, proclitic *ũbĩ* > *õ*, *prõbare* > *proar*, *sũbĩnde* > *soẽn soven soben*, *tribũtum* > *treüt*; *Lũdovĩcus* > *Lozoics*, *Provĩncia* > *Proẽnsa Provença*, *novẽllum* > *noẽl novel*, *novẽmbrem* > *noembre novembre*, *pavõnem* > *paõn*, *pavõrem* > *paõr* (cf. § 55, V).

¹ Cf. § 63, (4).

1. The perfect endings *-avi* etc., *-ivi* etc. had lost their *v* in Latin. For *avia*, etc., see § 87, β.

2. *Abans*, beside *avanz*, *avan* < *ab ante*, apparently shows the influence of Pr. *ab* = *apud*. *Abet* < *abiĕtem* (§ 40, 1) is unexplained: cf. Italian *abete*. *Abora* is a Provençal compound of *ab* and *ora*. *Trap*, beside *trau* < *trabem*, is doubtless from the nominative *traps* < *trabs*, which seems to have been differentiated in meaning from the V. L. nominative *trabis*.

3. *Brey*, *grey*, *ney*, beside *breu* < *brĕvem*, *greu* < **grĕvem*, *neu* < *nĕvem* (cf. § 25, 1, e), have been subjected to the attraction of *grey* < *grĕgem*, *ley* < *lĕgem*. *Greug* is a post-verbal noun from *greuiar* < **grĕviare*.

4. *Massis* < *massivus*, *natiz* = *nativus* < *nativus* seem to have been influenced by *mestis* < *mixticius*.

5. *Paziment* = *pavamen* owes its *z* perhaps to the analogy of *aizimen*.

6. In purely learned words, *b* and *v* were written as in Latin: *diabol*, *diluvi*.

C, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to g, and then developed like any other g. See G.

1. After *au*, apparently, *c* did not change: **auca* (< **avĭca* < *avis*) > *auca*, *pauca* > *pauca*, *rauca* > *rauca*, **traucare* (? < **trabucare*) > *traucar*. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

2. In purely learned words, *c* remained unchanged: *vocal*. *Alucar* *aluchar*, *aluc* seem to be learned formations patterned after *antelucānus* and Low Latin *lucānus*.

✱ C, when it became contiguous to a consonant, through the fall of the unaccented vowel of the penult, was reduced to i: **cōcĕre* > *çoire*, *dĭcĕre* > *diire* *dire*, *dĭcĭtis* > *ditz*, *facĕre* > *faire*, *facĭmu(s)* > *faim*, *facĭtis* > *faitz*, *fĕcĕram* > *feira*, *fĕcĕrunt* > *feiron*, *gracĭlem* > *graile*. When it remained intervocalic, it was assibilated during the transition period (§ 55, C); in most of the Provençal territory it became *dz*, which during the literary period was simplified to *z*; but in some dialects of the south and the northwest it resulted in *idz* (later *iz*), an *i*-glide having developed before the consonant while it was still palatal: *aucĕllum* > *auzĕl*, *jacĕre* > *iazĕr*, *licĕre* > *lezĕr*,

lūcēre > lūzer lūzir lūisir, *placēre* > plazer plaizer; *crūcem* > croz croiz crois (see §§ 63, 64), *dīcere* > dīzer, *dīcit* > ditz dis, *dūcit* > dütz dūs, *facit* > fatz fas, *jacet* > iatz ias iays, *pacem* > patz pas pais, *placet* > platz plas plais, *verācem* > verais, *vōcem* > vōtz voiz.

1. *Aucel*, beside *auzel*, perhaps belongs to a dialect in which *c'* was not voiced after *au*: cf. C, 1. See § 80, Bc'.

2. *Iasser*, beside *iazzer*, seems to be due to *ias* < *jacet* and *iassa* < *jaceat*.

3. For *desma deima*, see S, 1.

4. In purely learned words, *c'* > *ts*: *actūm* > *aci*.

D, in a part of the west, remained unchanged; elsewhere, during the Vulgar Latin period, it opened into *ð*, which fell in the 11th century and earlier in parts of the north and east, and in the rest of the Provençal territory became *z* as early as the first part of the 12th century: *audīre* > *auzir* *auir* *audir*,¹ *audit* > *au*,² *cadit* > *ca*, *crudēlem* > *cruzel* *cruel* *crudel*, *fīdat* > *fia*, **gaudo* > *gau*, *hōrrīda* > *oreza*, *hōrrīdum* > *ore*, *laudo* > *lau*, *alauda* > *lauzeta* *laudeta*, *rīdat* > *ria*, *tradēre* > *trazir* *trair* *tradir*, *vidēre* > *vezer* *ver* *veder*, *videt* > *ve*. When *ð* became contiguous to a following consonant (except final *s*), it changed to *i*: *cupīditātem* > *cobeitat*, *divīdēre* > *divire*,³ *traditōrem* > *traidor*.⁴

1. *Crey*, beside *cre* < *crēdo*, follows *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vīdeo*. *Mercey*, beside *merce* < *mercēdem*, shows the influence of *grey* < *grēgem*, *lei* < *lēgem*, and perhaps French *fei* < *fīdem*. Cf. β, (3).

2. *Grau* = *gra* < *gradum*, *niu* = *ni* < *nīdum* belong to the Catalan dialect, in which *ð* fell before the 8th century: *gradum* > *graðu* > *gra-u* > *grau*, the *u* being preserved through combining into a diphthong with the *a*.

¹ Also *auvir*, probably a local development of *auir* or *auzir*; and *aurir*, doubtless from *auzir* in a dialect that confuses *r* and *z*. See R, 2 and S, 2.

² Cf. § 63, (3).

³ The *i* from *ð* fuses with the preceding *i*.

⁴ *Trachor* has been influenced by *trach*, past participle of *traire*.

3. In purely learned words, d remained: *odi* < *ōdium*.

F is very rare (cf. § 59). The few examples appear to show that f (presumably in the 6th century or earlier) became β, and then developed like any other β (see β): *Stēphānum* > *Esteve*, *co(n)fortāre?* > **coβortar* > **coortar* > *conortar* (through the common use of the double forms, *con-*, *co-*), *gryphum* > *griu*, *raphānum* > *rave rafe*, **refusāre* > *rehusar* *refusar*, **prefūndum* (= *pro-*) > *preon*. Nevertheless, *cofin cōphñum*, *defors* < *de fōris*, *grifo*, *profięg* < *profēctum*, *rafe*, would seem to indicate that in some words, possibly less popular at the outset, f was retained.

1. In purely learned words, f was kept: *antifona*, *Caifas*, *philozophia*.

~~C~~G, representing original c and g, had a varied development.¹ For the fall of g in some words in Vulgar Latin, see § 55, G.

(1) Before a, g remained in the greater part of the territory, but in the north and east it early became y; and this y was generally retained in the eastern dialects (often fusing with a preceding i), while in most of the northern it developed into dž (cf. Y): *amīca* > *amiga* *amiia* *amia*, *dīcam* > *diga* *dia*, *mīca* > *miga* *miia* *mia*,² *pacāre* > *pagar* *paiar*, *precāre* > *pregar* *preiar*; *castigāre* > *castigar* *castiar*, *legālem* > *leial* *leyal* *lial*, *ligāmen* > *liam*, *ligātum* > *legat* *liat*, *plaga* > *plaga* *plaia*, *regālem* > *reial*, *rūga* > *rūa*.

(2) Before o and u (ü), g was preserved, except in a few words which (doubtless in Vulgar Latin times) lost it either in all or in many dialects: *acūtum* > *agüt*, *secūndum* > *segon*, *secūrus* > *segürs*; **a(u)gūrium* > *agür* *aür*, *a(u)gūstum* >

¹ Intervocalic c and g have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888, pp. 8-19.

² *Mica* *micha* are from **mīcca* = *mīca* + *cīccum*.

agost¹ ahoſt, proclitic *ēgo* > *eu*, **fagōttum* > *fagoſt*, *figūra* > *figüra*, *Hugōnem* > *Ugo*. For a *g* that becomes final or contiguous to final *s*, see § 63, (6): *amicus* > *amics amis*, *Auriacum* > *Auriac*, *cōcum* (= *cōquum*) > *çoç*, *jōcus* > *içoçs*, *Ludovicum* > *Lozoic Lozoi*, *prēco* > *preç*; *castigo* > *chastic chasti*.

(3) Between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, *g*, early in the Provençal period, became *y*, which developed into *dž* before the literary epoch; cf. § 49, (4): *clēricum* > *clęrge*, **coraticum* > *coratge*, *dominicum* > *dimęge*, *manica* > *mania*, *mēdicum* > *meęe*, *mōnāchum* > *monge*, **paraticum* > *paratge*, *viaticum* > *viatie*. In some dialects, however, the vowel of the penult, after liquids and nasals, fell too early for the *g* to become *y*: *clęrgue*,² *dimęrgue*, *mongue*.

1. *Amiu*, *chastiu* belong to the dialect of Forez; so perhaps *fau* < *fa-gum*, *preu* < *prēco*. These forms indicate a very early fall of the *g* in the dialect to which they belong. Cf. § 51, 3.

2. In purely learned words, Latin *g* remains unchanged: *paganōrum* > *paganor*.

G' became *y* during the Vulgar Latin period (§ 55, G). See *Y*.

1. In purely learned words the letter *g* was retained, but it was doubtless pronounced *dž*: *astrologia*.

L remained: *colōrem* > *color*, *male* > *mal*, **volēre* (= *velle*) > *voler*. Before final *s*, *l* became *u* in most dialects, in some as early as the 10th century: *malos* > *maus*, *talīs* > *taus*; *l* was written, however, long after *l* had been vocalized. Under the influence of forms in which *-ls* > *-us*, final *l* became *u* in the southwest and in some other regions: *Aprilem* > *abriu*. Cf. § 74, (2).

¹ For the reduction of *au* to *a* see § 41.

² *Clerc* is from **clēricum*, which must have existed contemporaneously with *clēricum*.

1. For Gascon l > r, see § 10.

2. *Orifan*, beside *olifan* < *elephantem*, is probably French.

L' will be considered, as ly, under Groups, § 73, Ly.

M remained: *amāre* > *amar*, *hōmo* > *om*, *timōrem* > *temor*.

1. Occasionally final *-am* rhymes with *-an* (*afan*: *fam*, *portam*: *avan*); this would seem to indicate an indistinct pronunciation of the final nasal in some dialects. Cf. *aven* = *avem* < *habēmu(s)* in the *Nobla Leyczon*. Cf. § 167, 2.

N remained: *bōnas* > *bonas*, *donāre* > *donar*, *lūna* > *lūna*. For n final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (5): *fīnis* > *fis fins*, *panem* > *pa pan*.

1. In *canorgue*, *dimergue*, *morgue*, beside *canonge*, *dimenge*, *monge*, the r may be explained by the analogy of *clergue*.

2. *Menhs meins*, beside regular *mens* < *mīnus*, show the influence of the alternative forms *genhs geins* and *gens* from *ingēnium* (see § 73, Ny).

3. *Iassey* (= *iasse*, the latter part of which may be from *exīn* = *exīnde*), *tey* (= *te* < *iēnet*), used by Marcabru, are doubtless due either to a mistaken imitation of conventional borderland forms (see § 25, 3) or to the analogy of *crei* = *cre* < *crēdo* (*crei* itself being due to the analogy of *dei* < *dēbeo*, *vei* < *vīdeo*).

N' will be considered, as ny, under Groups, § 73, Ny.

P, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to b: *capīlum* > *cabel*, *rīpa* > *riba*, **sapēre* (= *sapēre*) > *saber*, *trepalium* > *trebalh*; *capit* > *cap* (§ 63), *sapis* > *saps*.

1. In some borderland dialects p > v, as in French: *saver*. *Evescat*, *evesque*, beside *bisbat*, *bisbe*, are French.

2. *Apud*, used as a proclitic, became for some reason in Vulgar Latin **apu*, which developed regularly into **abu* and, after the fall of intertonic vowels, *ab*. This *ab* assimilated its b more or less to a following consonant, becoming *ap* before voiceless consonants, *am* before nasals; *am*, used before dentals, became *an*: hence we have four forms, *ab*, *ap*, *am*, *an*. *Amb* seems to be a fusion of *am* and *ab*; when used before a consonant with which mb did not readily combine, it expanded into *ambe*. See Elise Richter, *Zs.*, XXVI, 532.

3. In some dialects, apparently, p was not voiced after au: *sapuërun* **sapwërun* **saupërun* > *saubron saupron*. Cf. § 65, C, 1.

4. In purely learned words, p remains: *epifania*.

R remained: *amāra* > *amara*, *durāre* > *dürar*, *ërat* > *ëra*. Final rs was reduced to s, in most dialects, during and after the literary period: *priōres* > *priors prios* (*Girart*); the reduction apparently began in Limousin as early as the 12th century (Bertran de Born rhymes *iōs* and *flōrs*).

1. Final r began to fall in many dialects in the 14th century. At present it has disappeared all through the south and west: *amōrem* > *amou*, *flōrem* > *flou*.

2. In some dialects (especially those of Gard and Hérault) intervocalic r and z were confused, probably during the literary period: *gyrāre* > *gizar gisar*; conversely *audire* > *auzir aurir*. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XL, 49, 121.

S was voiced to z, probably from the 4th to the 6th century: *pausa* > *pausa*, *presētem* > *presen*; *rīsum* > *ris* (§ 63).

1. An s that became contiguous to n was changed, in a few dialects, to r: *almosna almorna*, *disnar dirnar*. In modern Limousin and some of the dialects of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Gascony, s has disappeared before nasals: *asne ane*, *caresma carema*, *disnar dinar* (so *blasmar blamar*, *desma dema*); the fall began during the literary period. S before a consonant in many of the modern dialects, and final s in some, has become i: *asne aine*, *caresma careima* (so perhaps *desma deima*, *pruesme prueime*); some traces of this change occur in texts of the literary period. Cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 413. *Isla*, in Limousin, became *ilha* (perhaps through *iyla*): cf. *Zs.*, XXIII, 414. Cf. § 78.

2. In some southeastern dialects intervocalic z after au has changed to v: *causa cauva* (so *auzir auvir*); possibly the *auvent* of the *Boeci*, v. 23, is to be connected with this.

T, from the 4th to the 6th century, was voiced to d: *amāta* > *amada*, *natālis* > *nadals*, *servitōrem* > *servidoz*; *habētis* > *avetz avēs avēt* (§§ 63, 64), *latus* > *latz las*, *natum* > *nat*. For a t which became contiguous to r (*amātor* > *amaire*), see § 52, (1), and § 70, Tr.

1. In some dialects of the south and southeast, final *t* fell shortly after the literary period: *amātum* > *amat ama*.

2. *Tōtus*, in Gaul, became *tōttus* as early as the 4th century: hence Pr. *tota totas*. For *meteis* < *met-īpse* see § 131, (2).

3. *Espaza* (beside *espada*) < *spatha*, was perhaps influenced in its pronunciation by the spelling of the Latin word. *Ez*, coming from *et* before a vowel, shows the influence of *az* (< *ad* + vowel) and *quez* (< *quid* + vowel). *Grazal*, 'grail', is perhaps a cross between **cratella* < *crater* and *gradale*, 'service-book'; so *grazalet*. *Grazir grazire* (cf. *agradar*) is perhaps altered from an earlier **grazar* < **gratiare*. *Mezeis* < *met-īpse*, *mezesmes*, *meesmes* (beside *medesmes*) < **met-īpsimus* have been subjected to the analogy of *ez* < *et* and *quez* < *quid* or of *īd īpsum*: § 131, (2).

4. *Appoestat* must be French.

5. *Calabre* < **catabōlum* seems to have been assimilated to *Calabria*.

6. In purely learned words, *t* remains: *eternal*.

W will be considered, as gw, under Groups, § 72, βw.

X is a symbol for ks: see Groups, § 79, Ks.

~~Y~~, representing Latin *dy*, *g'*, *gy*, *j*, and *z* (cf. § 55, G, Y; § 57, Z) had a varied development.

(1) When it became contiguous to a following consonant (§§ 45, 49), it changed to *i*: *adjutāre* > *ayudāre* > *ay'dar* > *aidar*, *medietātem* > *meitat*; *cōgitāre* > *cüidar*, *frīgēre* > *frire*, *lĕgĕre* > *leyre*, *propagĭnem* > *probaina*, *rĭgĭda* > *reida*, **tragĕre* > *traire*; *bajūlus* > *bailes*.

(2) When it remained intervocalic, it became *dž* in most of the territory, but in the northeast and parts of the north it was not changed: *audiam* > *auia*, *in-ōdiare* > *enoiar*, *invidĭa* > *enveĭa*, *invidĭōsus* > *enveĭōs enveyōs*, **gladia* > *glaya*, *mediānum* > *meian*, **pōdiāre* > *poiar*, *radiāre* > *raiar*, *sordĭdior* > *sordeĭer*, *vĭdeat* > *veĭa*; *fragĭlem* > *fragel*; **exagiāre* > *assatiar* *essaiar* *essayar*, *corrĭgia* > *correĭa correya*, *fagea* > *faia faya*, *regĭōnem* > *reĭō*; *dĕ Jōvis* > *dĭĭōs*, *major* > *maier*, *pĕjor* > *peĭer*, *pejōrem* > *peĭor*, *trōja* > *trōĭa*; *baptizāre* > *bateiar*. For

a dž or a y that became final or contiguous to final s, see § 63, (1), (2): *audio* > auch, *in odio* > enueç (plural enueçz enueç) ençi, *gaudium* > gauch, *gladium* > glai, *mēdium* > meç meï, *hōdie* > oi, *pōdium* > puçç poi, *radium* > rai; *fūgit* > fūç fūi, *grēgem* > greç, *lēgem* > leç (pl. leitz) lei, *lēgit* > lieç, *magis* mais,¹ *rēgem* > rei, **tragit* > trai; *exagium* > essai; *pējus* > piçis.

(3) Before accented e or i, y disappeared (doubtless in Vulgar Latin: § 55, G), except in some western dialects, where it became dž: *vagīna* > guaīna, **legire* (= *lēgere*) > legir,² *magīster* > maestre maiestre magestre, **pagē(n)sis* > paç paçes, *regīna* > reīna, *sagitta* > saçeta saieeta saçeta.

1. *Detz ditz* < *dīgītus* are irregular and unexplained. The word is irregular in some other Romance languages, notably in Italian. Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, p. 507.

2. *Glavi*, beside *glai* (and learned *glazi*) < *gladium*, is supposed by some to show the influence of Celtic *clādibo*. Cf. Körting; also H. Schuchardt, *Zs.*, XXV, 345.

3. *Messér* seems to be a contraction (due to proclitic use) of **messeyer* = *mes*, 'my', + **seyer*? < **sēyor* = *sēnior* (cf. A. Lindström, *L'analogie dans la déclinaison des substantifs latins en Gaule*, 1897-8, pp. 292-3).

4. In purely learned words, *di*, *g*, *gi*, *z* are retained, the *g* being pronounced presumably as dž, the *z* as z: *odi*, *fragil*, *regio*, *canonizar*.

MEDIAL GROUPS.

66. Medial groups may be conveniently classified as follows: — A. *Double Consonants* (1); B. *Groups of Dissimilar Consonants*: groups ending in l (2), groups ending in r (3), groups ending in w (4), groups ending in y (5), groups beginning with l, m, n, r, or s and not ending in l, r, w, or y

¹ *Magis* was probably reduced to *mais* in Vulgar Latin.

² *Legir* may have been reconstructed on the basis of *leg* < *lēgit*.

(6), all other groups (7). They will be treated in the order indicated.¹

1. It should be noted that the prefixes *ad-*, *sub-* regularly assimilate their d or b to the following consonant: **ad-rîpâre* > *arribar*, *sub-venîre* > *sovenir*. *Sosrire*, *sosterrar*, *sostraire* show a substitution of prefix, due, no doubt, to the analogy of *sospîrar*, *sostener*.

I. DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

67. In general, the double consonants became single, in the 9th or 10th century (perhaps earlier before the accent), but underwent no other change save those described in §§ 63, 64: *abbâtem* > *abat*, *siccum* > *sec*, *rêddo* > *reç*, *affîbulâre* > *afiblar*, *aggregâre* > *agregar*, *flamma* > *flama*, *pînna* > *peña*, *cap̄pa* > *capa*, *passum* > *pas*,² *müttum* > *mot*, *advenîre* **avvenîre* > *avenir*.

(1) Cc before a, in the east and northeast, became tš; elsewhere, c; *bücca* > *boça bocha*, *vacca* > *vaca vacha*.

(2) Ll, in some southern dialects, became l'; elsewhere, l: *capillum* > *cabel cabelh*, *grÿllum* > *gril grillh*, *mantellum* > *mantel mantelh*, *villānus* > *vilas vilhas*. It is possible, however, that -lli regularly became l' in Limousin, while ll before other vowels was not palatalized: *caballum* > *caval*, *caballī* > *cavalh*; *illi* > *ilh*, *illōs* > *els*; this would account in part for the frequent occurrence of *lh* in the poems. For final ls and l, see § 65, L: *illos* > *els eus*, *vallem* > *val vau*. For Gascon l > r, see § 10: *appëllat* > *apeła apera*.

(3) Rr, when intervocalic, seems generally to have been distinguished from r during the literary period and later: *cÿr-*

¹ For the groups ending in y, cf. L. J. Juroszek, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jotazierten Konsonanten in Frankreich*, in *Zs.*, XXVII, 550 ff. The groups ending in y and those containing c or g have been studied by H. Sabersky, *Zur provenzalischen Lautlehre*, 1888.

² S is generally written *ss* between vowels, to distinguish it from *s = z*.

rēre > corre, **corrūptiāre* > corrossar, *errāre* > errar, *iērra* > terra. Occasionally, however, rr is found in rhyme with r.

2. GROUPS ENDING IN L.

68. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that bl, rl, sl remained unchanged; ml developed a glide consonant between its two members; pl, tl, βl and yl respectively voiced, assimilated, and vocalized their first element; while cl, gl were fused into l'. For an explanation of this last phenomenon, see § 79.

Bl > bl: *nēbūla* > nebla, **oblitāre* > oblidar, *sabulōnem* > sablon.¹

† βl > ul: *fabūla* **faβla* > faula, *sibilāre* **siβlāre* > siular, *tabūla* **taβla* > taula.

† Cl > l': *genūcūlum* > genolh, *ōcūlum* > ołh, *sītūla* **sīcla*² > selha, *vētūla* *vēcla*² > vełha. In learned words we find gl, cl: **e(c)clēsia* > gleiza, *joculārem* > ioglar, *sēcūlum* > segle secle.

† C'l > il: *gracīlem* > graile.

Dl > dl, which during the literary period became ll and then l: *mōdūlum* > *mōdle mōlle.

✕ Gl > l': *vīg(i)lat* > vełha. *Teula* < *tēgūla* is irregular: cf. *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIII, 439, 459.

✕ Ml > mbl: *simīlāre* > semblar, *trēmūlat* > trembla. In *sembrar* we find an r < l due perhaps to the analogy of *membrar* < *memorāre*.

✕ Pl > bl: *cōpūla* > çobla, *dūplum* > doble. Learned words have pl: *duplicar*.

Rl > rl: *Carōlus* > Carles, *hōrolōgium* > orłoi, **paraulare* > parlar.

¹ Most of the words in this category are semi-learned: cf. *fabla* and *faula*. See § 55, B.

² See § 47, (2).

Sl > sl: *ī(n)sūla* > isla. For *ilha*, see § 65, S, 1.

Tl > tl, which during the literary period became ll and then l: *rōtūlum* > rotle rolle, *spathūla* > espatla espalla espala. In really popular words tl had become cl in Vulgar Latin.¹

Yl > il: *bajūlus* > bailes. Cf. § 65, Y, (1).

69. A group of three consonants remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ambulāre* > amblar, *implēre* > emplir, *avūncūlus* > avoncles, *circūlus* > cercles, *mascūlus* > mascles, **afflammāre* > aflamar, *inflāre* > enflar, *ūngūla* > onгла, *emplastrum* > emplastre.

1. *Selcle*, beside *cercle*, seems to show an assimilation of the r to the l of the next syllable. *Empastre*, beside *emplastre*, has been influenced by *pasta*. *Emblar* is probably from V. L. **imbolare = involare*.

3. GROUPS ENDING IN R.

70. The groups of two consonants will be treated in alphabetical order. It will be seen that br, gr, lr, nr generally remained unchanged; mr, sr, zr (and sometimes lr, nr) developed a glide consonant; cr, pr voiced, and βr, c'r, dr, tr, yr vocalized their first element.

Br > br: *fabrum* > fabre, *fēbrem* > febre, *lib(ē)rum* > libre.

βr > ur: *bībēre* > beure, *débēr' hábeo* > deβ'r-áyo > deurái, *faber* > faure;² **mōvēre (= mōvēre)* > moure, *plōvēre* > ploure.

X Cr > gr: *acrem* > agre, *lacrīma* > lagrema, *lūcrum* > logre, *macrum* > magre, *sacrāre* > sagnar, *sōcrum* > sogre.³ In late learned words we find cr: *secret*.

X C'r > ir: *cōcēre* > coire, *dicēre* > dire, *dūcere* > diure, *facēre* > faire. Cf. § 49, (1).

X Dr > ōr > ir: *divīdēre* > devire, *quadrum* > caire, *vídēr' há-*

¹ See § 47, (2).

² We find also *faur*: cf. § 52, (1), 1.

³ *Sozer* is from *sōcērum*: cf. § 49, (1).

beo > ved'r-áyo > veirái. After au, apparently, *ð* simply disappeared: *claudēre* > claure. Late learned words have dr: *quadrupedi*.

Gr, in popular words, was reduced to r in Vulgar Latin in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rāre* > *frarar *flarar flazar, *intē(g)-rum* > enteṛ entieṛ, *nī(g)rum* > neṛ nieṛ,¹ *pere(g)rīnum* > peleri, *pī(g)rītia* > pereṛza; these forms occur in Gascony, Rouergue, and Limousin, but forms with gr are found in the same region. Elsewhere, in these same words, and everywhere, in more bookish words, gr remained in Vulgar Latin; this gr was kept in most of the Provençal territory, but was changed to ir in Dauphiné, Auvergne, and Languedoc: **degrādum* > degira, *fragrāre* > flairar, *integrāre* > enteirar, *intēgrum* > enteṛgre enteṛ,² *nīgrēscēre* > negrezir, *nīgrum* > negre neṛ,² *peregrīnum* > pelegri, *pīgrītia* > pigreṛza. Purely learned words have gr everywhere: *agricultura*.

G'r: see Yr.

Lr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ldr³: *vālēr' hábeo* > valrai valdrai, **vólēr' hábeo* > volrai voldrai.

*Mr > mbr: *camēra* > cambra, *memorāre* > membrar, *nūmērum* > nõmbre.

Nr usually remained unaltered, but in some dialects became ndr³: *cīnērem* > çenre çendre, *dīe Vēnēris* > divenres divendres, *in-gēnerāre* > engenrar, *Henricum* > Enric, *expōnēre* > esponre espondre, **gēnērem* (= *gēnus*) > genre, *gēnērum* > genre gendre,

¹ For the vowel of neṛ nieṛ, see § 25, 1, (e).

² *Enteir*, *neir* seem to have lost final e under the influence of numerous adjectives in *-er -ier -ieir* < *-arium*.

³ In the modern dialects the d is probably commoner than it was in the old literary language; it occurs in Bordeaux, Languedoc, and Provence.

honorāre > onrar ondrar, *prēndere* > penre, *tenēr' habeo* > tenrai tendrai, *venēr' habeo* > venrai vendrai.

X Pr > br: *capra* > cabra, *cūperāre* > cobrar, *erīpēre* > erēbre, *ōpera* > obra, *pauper* > paubre, **pīperāta* > pebrada, *recīpēre* > rečebre, *sūperāre* > sobrar, *sūper* > sōbre. Purely learned words have pr: *caprin*. It is uncertain whether *paupre* (beside the usual *paubre*) is a Latinism or represents some dialect in which au prevented voicing.

† Sr > str: **ēssere* (= *esse*) > estre. For *esser*, see § 49, (2).

† Tr > dr > ḍr > ir: *amātor* > amaire, *fratrem* > fraire, *latro* > laire, *mater* > maire, *ūtērem* > oire, *pētra* > peira, *Pētrus* > Peires, *petrōnem* > peiro, *petrōsus* > peiros, *pre(s)bītērum* (*Einf.*, § 140) > preveire, *servītor* > servire, *vītrum* > veire. Learned words have dr and tr: **poenītēre* > penedre (*penedir*), *impetrāre* > *impetrar*.

† Yr > ir: *frīgēre* > frire, *līgēre* > leyre.

† Zr > zdr: *mīsērunt* + **mīssērunt* > *mezron mesdron.

1. *Redebre* (beside *rezemér*) < *redimere* has apparently been influenced by *recebre*. The Burgundian *sor* for *sobre* comes from the prefix *sūr-* (*sūr-rīdēre*, etc.). *Perri* < **pētrīnum* is probably French.

71. A group of three consonants nearly always remained unchanged, except that double consonants became single: *ūmbra* > ombra, *arbōrem* > arbre, *sepūlcrum* > sepulcre, **canc(e)rōsus* > cancroș, **addīrēctum* > adreit, *fūndere* > fōndre, *ardere* > ardre, **offerire* > offrir, **Hungaria* > Ongria, *rūmpere* > rompre, *apprēssum* > apreș, *asprum* > aspre, *ūltra* > oltra, *intrare* > entrar, *mo(n)strare* > mostrar, *mīttere* > mētre. Lβr and rg'r, however, regularly became ldr and rdr, and llr became ldr to the same extent as lr (q. v.): *absōlvēre* > absoldre (*absolvre* is probably a Latinism), *pūlvērem* > poldre; **dē-ēr' gēre* > derdre; *tollere* > tołre tołdre. Rmr became rbr

in *marmor* > marbre (also marme). Prendre often became penre (perhaps to distinguish it from pendre < *pëndēre*) through the analogy of genre gendre, etc.; the first r having been lost by dissimilation.

1. The four-consonant group sbtr is reduced to str in *prestre* < *prēs-býter*. *Prever* is perhaps a proclitic syncopation of a V. L. **prebýter*. Cf. § 78, 1.

4. GROUPS ENDING IN W.

72. This class includes not only Latin gu, qu, but all combinations of consonant + u, cf. § 40, (2). A w thus evolved seems to have developed like Germanic w (cf. § 56, W): it became gw (assimilating the preceding consonant, unless that consonant was a liquid or a nasal), and then was reduced, before the literary period, to g, cf. § 62, (2). Pw, however, had a quite different history, owing, on the one hand, to the affinity of its two labial elements, and, on the other, to the stability of the voiceless stop, which prevented the assimilation that we find in *βw* > ww.

1. G. Körting (*Zs.*, XXII, 258) would explain through the analogy of the perfects in *-cui* all other perfect forms which in Provençal have g and c corresponding to Latin *-ui* etc.

~~βw~~ > ww > gw > g: *habuíssem* > agues, *dēbuit* > dec (§ 63); **co(g)nōvuit* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 357) > conoç, **crevuísti* > creguist, **movuísset* > mogueç, **plōvuit* > ploç. We seem to have the same combination in Germanic *treuwa* > tregua trega (*treva* is probably French).

1. The diphthong of *aic* = *habuī* is probably not a phonetic development. The first and third persons of the preterit, *aic* and *ac* (< *habuit*), have been differentiated after the pattern of the present — *ai* and *a*.

† Dw > gw > g: **sēduit* > seç.

1. *Vezoa* < *vīdua* must be an early learned word: *vevva* is doubtless French.

X Kw > gw > g: *antiqua* > antiga, *ēqua* > ega, *æquālem* > egal (*engal* has received through a mistake in etymology the prefix *en-* or *e-* < *in-*), *nōcuit* > nõç, *placūstī* > plaguist, **sēquēre* (= *sēqui*) > seğre, **sequire* > seguir, *tacūissem* > taguēs.

1. Several words show a different development: cf. *Ltblt.*, XXIV, 335; *Zs.*, XXVIII, 381. In *aqua* (or *acqua*) and *aquīla* (or **acquīla*) the first consonant became, for some reason, a spirant, which later changed to i: aḡwa > aiwa > aigua aiga, áḡwila > áiwila > áigwila > aigla. So *aig-lentina*. These same words show irregularities in other languages. Perhaps the dialect form *eigal* (Auvergne, Arles) for *egal* is to be explained in the same way; but the *ei* here may be analogical.

2. In several words kw was reduced to c (or c') in Vulgar Latin: *coquēre* (+ *cōcus*) > cōcēre > çozer, *tōrquēre* **tōrquēre* (+ **tōrco* **tōrcunt*) > **tōrcēre* > tōrser. Cf. § 55, W.

† Lw > lgw > lg: *caluit* > calc, **toluistī* > tolguist, *valuissem* > valguēs, *vōluērunt* (§ 16, 2) > vōlgron.

† Nw, ngw, nk w > ngw > ng: *tēnuit* > tenc, **venūisset* > ven-guēs; *sanguem* > sanc; *cīnque* (= *quinque*) > cinc.

1. Tēns < *tēnūis* is probably a learned word; the transposition of u and n may have been due originally to a misreading of the letters. *Ia-nuer*, *manual*, etc. are learned. *Mancira* is apparently from a Vulgar Latin **man(u)aria* from *manuarius*. For *enquerre* < *inquērēre*, see § 59.

2. *Exstinguēre* (+ **extīngo* **extīngunt*) > **estīngēre* > estēher.

† Pw > upw > up > ub: *sapuisset* > saubēs, *reçpuit* > reçeup.

1. *Saupēs* apparently belongs to a dialect in which au prevented voicing. Cf. § 65, P, 3.

† Rw > rgw > rg: *mēruit* > merc.

Sw seems to have been reduced early to s in *consuetūdīnem* **costūmen* > costūm (costūma). *Cōnsūo* apparently became **cōsio*, whence an infinitive **cōsēre* or **cosīre* (Pr. çozer, cosir).

† Tw > dw > gw > g: *pōtuit* > pōç.

1. *Ba(t)uo*, *qua(t)tuor* were reduced to *batto*, **quattor* in Vulgar Latin: Pr. *bat*, *quatre*.

5. GROUPS ENDING IN Y.

73. This class contains: 1st, combinations of consonant + y < e or i, cf. § 40, (2); 2d, consonant + g' > y (§ 55, G), the g' having been in some cases always contiguous to the preceding consonant, in others originally separated from it by a vowel; 3d, consonant + g > y, the g representing an original c or g between the last two vowels of a proparoxytone, cf. § 65, G, (3). It does not include dy and gy, which early became y: see § 65, Y. The groups will be considered in alphabetical order:—

Bry > bry in *ebriācum* > ebriac (*iure* is probably French).

By was early reduced to y in *habeo habeam* etc. and *dēbeo dēbeam* etc., partly, no doubt, through the proclitic use of these words, partly under the influence of *audio* > **auyo audiam* > **auya* and *video* > **veyo videam* > **veya*; this y, like any other medial y (§ 65, Y), became dž or remained y: ai (for some reason there seems to have been no form **ach*), aia; dei deç, deia. Aside from these words, βy > udž and uy apparently in the north; elsewhere uy, by, vy—uy prevailing in the west, by and vy in the south and east. When the y became final, it changed to i, which, after a consonant, was syllabic. Ex.: *abbrēviat* > abreçuia, **aggrēviat* > agreçuia, **allēviat* > aleçuia, *aviōlum* > aviōl aiōl, *cavēa* > gabia cauia, *labia* > lavia-s, **leviarius* > leugięs, **rabiam* (= *rabiam*) > rabia rauia,¹ **rabiāre* > rabiār, *rabiōsus* > rabiōs rauioç, *rūbeum* > roç roj,² **sabium* > savi sabi, *atavia* > tavia, *vidūvium* > vezoig bedoi.² In purely learned words, Latin *bi*, *vi*, etc., are kept: *abiurament*, *fluvial*.

Cc'y: see C'y.

¹ *Ratie* is perhaps French.

² After o, the u disappears.

†Cly > l': *coclearium* > cuilhièr.

†Cty > is: *factionem* > faisso, *lectionem* > leisso, *suspectionem* > sospeisso. In purely learned words we find the spellings *cti*, *cci*, which doubtless indicate ktsy or ksy: *electio*, *accio*. Cf. Ssy.

†C'y, cc'y, kwy > ts; this ts, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: *braccia* brassa, *brachium* > bratz bras (§ 64), *faciam* > faza fassa, *faciem* > fatz fas, *glaciem* > glatz glas¹, *laqueare* > lassar, *laqueum* > latz las, **pëcia* > pëssa, *placeam* > plassa. Learned words have *zi* and *ci*, doubtless pronounced at first dzi, tsi, later zi, si (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545; XXV, 736): *iuzizi iudici*, *edifici*, *Grecia*. Cf. Pty.

†D-g > dž: *iudico* > iütge, *mëdicum* > mege, **sëdicum* > seje².

Dy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Gdy: see § 80, Gd.

Gy: see § 55, Y and § 65, Y.

Kwy: see Cy.

†Lc'y > lts > uts > us: *calceare* > caussar. Cf. Lty. See § 74, (2).

†Lg' apparently became ldz udz uz in **fülgërem* (= *fülgur*) > fouzer.

Ll-g' > l' in *cölligit* > cuèlh. Cf. Ly.

Lly: see Ly.

†Lny > n': *balneum* > banh.

†Lty > lts > uts > us: **altiäre* > auçar aussar. Cf. Lc'y. See § 74, (2).

¹ *Glai* is due perhaps to the analogy of *ney* (§ 65, β , 3), perhaps to such double forms as *fatz fai* = *facit*.

² *Seti* (pronounced with two syllables) seems to be an improperly constructed post-verbal noun from *assetiar*.

Lvy > lby > uby in *salvia* > saubia (Gascon).

Ly, lly > l': *consilium* > cosselh, *filiū* > filh, *fīlia* > filha, *nūllī* + vowel > nūlh. Learned words have *li*: *familiarmens*. *Lili liri lire* < *līlium* are doubtless learned; *lis* is French.

Mby > mby, mdž, and ndž; mdž being the usual form in the literary language: *cambiāre* > camiar caniar cambiar.

Mmy > my, mdž, and ndž: *commeātus* > comiatz coniatz.

Mny > n' in Limousin and in the extreme east and southwest, elsewhere ndž: *somniāre* > sonhar soniar. *Somni*, beside *suenh songe*, is learned.

Mply > mply in *ampliāre* > ampliar, probably learned.

My > my and n': *simia* > simia, *vindēmia* > vendemia vendanha.

Nc'y > nts > ns: **Francia* > Fransa. Cf. Nty.

Nd-g > ndž: **pēndīcat* > penia, *vīndīco* > venie. Similarly *mandūcāre* > **mandugare manduyare mandyare* > maniar¹.

Ndy > n': **Burgūndia* > Borgonha, *verecūndia* > vergonha. Cf. Ny.

N-g > ndž: **excommūnīco* (= *excommūnīco*) > escomenie¹, *mōnāchum* > monie.

Ng' > n' and ndž: *jūngēre* > iṅher iṅger, *ūngēre* > oṅher oṅger, *plangēre* > phanher planger, *pūngēre* > pṅher pṅger. *Angel* is probably learned.

Ng'y > ndž: *spōngia* > esponia.

Nty > nts > ns: *cantiōnem* > canso, *comīn(i)tiāre* > comensar, *sperantia* > esperansa. Purely learned words have *nti*: *essentia*. Cf. Nc'y.

Ny > n': *extraneum* > estranh, *tēneo* > tenh, *vēniat* > venha. Before or during the literary period final n' or n's lost its

¹ Apparently *maniar*, *escomeniar* developed in the region where g became y before a: cf. § 65, G, (1).

palatal quality in many dialects: *ingĕnium* > genh gen. If *estraniar* comes from *extraneāre* (and not from **extranicāre*), it must be a word of later adoption; so *estrangier*. In *sotran* < *subterraneum* there is probably a change of suffix.

Pfy seems to become f in **kūpphja* > *çofa*.

Pry probably became regularly bry: *capreōlum* > **cabriol* *cabriol* (*cabriol* seems to be a new formation from *cabra*). *Coyre* <? *cūpreum* is unexplained.

Pty > ts, which, when it remained medial, was reduced, before and during the literary period, to s: **captiāre* > *cassar*, **corrūptiāre* > *corrossar*, *nĕptia* > *neŕsa*, **nōptias* (§ 38, 2) > *noŕsas*. Cf. C'y.

Py remained py in the west and a part of the south, and elsewhere became ptš, later tš: *apium* > *ache api*, **apprōpiat* (< *prōpe*) > *apropcha aprocha aprochia*, *sapiam* > *sapcha sacha sapia*, *sapiĕntem* > *sachent sapient*, *sĕpia* > *sepia*. If *asabentar*, 'instruct', comes from *sapientem*, it has been influenced by *saber*, *saben*. *Piion* < *pipiōnem* is French. Learned words have *pi*: *copia*; but *mancĭpium* > *mancip massip*.

Rc'y > rts (> rs?): *urceōlum* (*Zs.*, XXVI, 668) > *orzol*.

Rdy > rdi in *hōrdeum* > *ordi*.

R-g > rdž: *clĕricus* > *clĕries*.

Rg' > rdž and rdz (> rz): *argĕntum* > *argen*, **burgĕ(n)sis* > *borges borzes* (also *borgues*, under the influence of *borc*), *dĕ-ĕrĭgit* > *ders*, **dĕ-ĕr(i)gĕre* > *derzer* (also *derdre*: § 71), *sŭrgĕre* > *soŕger soŕzer*, *sŭrgit* > *soŕtz*.

Rny > rn': *Arvĕrnium* > *Alverne*.

Rr-g > rdž: **carricat* > *caria*.

Rry? > rdž in **horrearium?* > *orgier* (cf. *Körting*).

Rt-g > rdž and rts (> rs): **excōrtĭcat* > *escōria escōrsa*.

Rty > rts > rs: **fortiāre* > forsar, *tērtium* > tēz tērs. *Convercio* is learned.

Rvy > rvy rby: **cērvia* > cervia cerbia.

† Ry > r', which developed into ir when it remained medial, but became r at the end of a word¹: **exclariāre* > esclarar, **donatōria* > donadoira, **fēria* > feira feira, *fēriat* > feira, *matēria* > madeira, **mōriat* > moira, *primaria* > premeira premeira (§ 23, 1), **punitōria* > punidoira, *varia* > vaira, *variāre* > vairar; **a(u)gūrium* > aür, *cōrium* > cuer, **donatōrium* > donador, *impērium* > empiēr, *mīnistērium* > mestier, **mōrio* > moř muer, *monastērium* > mostier (§ 45, 3), *primarius* > premeiers, **punitōrius* > punidořs. If the ry is preceded by au, it apparently remains unchanged: *Auriācum* > Auriac (*Zs.*, XXVII, 559). Learned words have *ri*: *bori* > ebōreum, *contrari*.

1. Adjectives in *-er* (*-ier*) and *-or*, coming from *-arium* and *-ōrium*, regularly have feminines in *-eira* (*-ieira*) and *-oira*. By the analogy of the masculine, there is a feminine in *-era* in parts of the west; by the analogy of the feminine, there is a masculine in *-eir* in Auvergne. The *i* of *vair* probably comes from the feminine *vaira* and from the verb *vairar*. The noun *feira* sometimes becomes *fiera* like a feminine adjective.

Sc'y: see Ssy.

Ssy, sc'y, sty > s', which in most of the territory became is, but in the west and the extreme east developed into i(t)š and (t)š: **bassiāre* > baissar baichar bachar, **angūstia* > engoissa, **ingrōssiat* > engruēissa, *fascia* > faissa, **grassiāre* > graissar, *pōstea* > pueissas pueih pūch, *ūstium* > üis.

Sty: see Ssy.

† Sy > z', which in most of the territory became iz, but in parts of the northeast, north, and west developed into i(d)ž and (d)ž, and in some scattered dialects gave y and z: *ba-*

¹ The r remained palatal long enough to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37.

sium > bais bai (§ 63), *basiare* > baisar baiiar baiar bayar basar, *quasi* + vowel > cais quaish, *camisia* (cf. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, XII, 265) > camiza, *cerēsea* (*Einf.*, § 103) > cireiza cireiia cerieya cerieza, *ma(n)sionem* > mai-son maiion maiou mayo, *occasionem* > ochaizo, *pre(hen)sionem* > preiso (cf. *enpreyona*, 'imprisons'), *quid se* + vowel > queis, Ger. *sazjan* > saisir, *to(n)sionem* > toiso.

T-g > dž: **coraticum* > corage, **paraticum* > parage, *viaticum* > viatie.

Try apparently became ir: *atrium?* > aire, *arbitrium* > albire.

Tty > ts > s: **plattēa* > plassa.

Ty > apparently t' > d' > generally d'z,¹ which in most of the west and north became dz, but in the south and east developed into idz; dz and idz, when they remained medial, were reduced, before and during the literary period, to z and iz: **alittia* > alteza, **bellittia* > beleza, *malittia* > maleza, *pigrittia* > pereza, **prētiat* > preza, **rikittia* > riqueza; *palatium* > palatz palaitz palais (§ 64), *pūteum* > potz püis, *prētium* > pretz preş, *solatium* > solatz solas; *potiōnem* > pozou poizou, **pretiāre* > prezar, *ratiōnem* > razou raizou, *s(t)atiōnem* > sazo saizou. The forms without i prevail in the literary language, and in words in which the dz comes after the accent (especially in the ending -eza) they seem to have encroached largely upon the ground of the others.² According to some philologists, the development of ty differed according to its position before or after the accent: for a brief bibliography of the discussion,

¹ These sounds lost their palatal quality too early to cause breaking: cf. §§ 30, 37. Cf. *Einf.*, § 133.

² *Palaitz*, however, is used by Marcabru, A. Daniel, and P. Vidal. *Poizou* occurs in *Flamenca* and in modern Limousin (beside *pozou*), *raizo* is found in the *Boeci* and other texts.

see *Zs.*, XXVII, 689. In learned words we find *zi, ci, çì, ti: estimatio, iustizia -icia -ecia -eçia, natio nacio, negoci, servizi -ici* (cf. A. Horning, *Zs.*, XXIV, 545, XXV, 736).

1. *Palai* (beside *palatz -aitz -ais*) may have been made from *palais* (used by Bertran de Born and in *Flamenca*) by dropping the *s* which was regarded as an inflectional ending. It was perhaps influenced by such words as *bais bai*: cf. Sy. A clerical Latin **palasium*, however, would account, not only for *palai palais*, but also for French *palais* and for Italian *palagio*.

2. Modern *poijon* (Alps) and *rajo* (Limousin) have perhaps followed the analogy of such words as *maison maijon majon*: cf. Sy.

3. *Escoisson* < *excūtiunt* seems to follow **escois* < *excūtio*. It was perhaps influenced by *conoisson* < *co(g)nōscunt*.

4. Some of the modern western dialects have *d* in *radon, sadon*, etc. = *razo, sazo*, etc.

6. GROUPS BEGINNING WITH L, M, N, R, OR S.

74. (1) Of the groups beginning with *l* (and not ending in *l, r, w, or y*), the following remained unchanged (except that *c* before *a* became *tš* in the north and northwest).—**lb, lc** (and **llc**), **lg** (**llg**), **lm, lp, lv**: *alba* > *alba*; *calcāre* > *calcar*, *collocāre* **colcāre* > *colcar* (-char); *collocare* **collogare* **colgare* > *colgar*; *hēlm* > *elm*, *ūlmum* > *olm*; *cōlāphum* **cōlpum* > *colp* (*κόλπος* > *golfe* is unexplained); *calvum* > *calv* (= calf?), *salvāre* > *salvar*. **Ld, ls** (**lls**), **lt** (**llt**) were regularly unchanged except for the vocalization of the *l*: see below. **Lc'** (**llc'**) became **lts**, and then the *l* was vocalized: see below. **Lc'p** became **lp** in *calce pīsāre* > *calpisar*. **Lg', llg'**, have been treated in § 73. **Lvs, lvt** became **ls, lt**, and then the *l* was vocalized: see below.

† (2) *L* became *u* before the dental consonants *d, s, t* in most of the dialects. The vocalization seems to have begun in the 8th century and to have progressed through the literary

period and later. It is difficult to trace it, as *l* long continued to be written for *u*. In modern Provençal, *ls* remains in Languedoc, *lt* in Rouergue. *Auça* occurs in the *Boeci*. The *l* was probably first retracted, to differentiate it from the following dental; and then this velar *l* was opened into *u*. Ex.: *cal(ɨ)daria* > caudiera, *cal(ɨ)dum* > caut, *söl(ɨ)dum* > sołt sołt; *falsum* > fals faus, *malos* > mals maus, *valles* > vals vaus; **fallita* > fauta, *mūltum* > mołt mołt, **tōllitum* > tołt tołt; *dūlcem* > dołz dołtz dołs, *pōllicem* > połtz, *salicem* > sautz; *calvus* > *cals caus, **vōlvita* > vołta vołta. So **altiat* > auça aussa, **calceare* > cauçar caussar: cf. § 73, Lc'y, Lty. In doș (=doșs) and mołt (=mołt) the o seems to have absorbed the *u*. Cf. § 65, L.

1. The final *t* of *molt* seems to have been lost sometimes before a consonant: hence *mul*, which before *d* became *mon*.

2. *Altretal* (also *autretal*) became *atretal* by dissimilation; hence we have also *atressi* for *altressi* (*autressi*). *Aital*, *aitan* seem to be made up of *tal*, *tan* with the first syllable of *aissi* (< *ac sic*), regarded as a prefix meaning 'just'.

3. *Pallidus* > *palles* (through **pádillus*?).

4. *Fouzer* is from *fülger* or **fülgerem* = *fülgur*.

75. Of the groups beginning with *m* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following usually remained unchanged — **mb**, **md**, **mf**, **mp**, **ms**, **mt**: *gamba* > *gamba* (if *bobansa* is from βόμβος, it is irregular); **semitarium* **semidarium* > *semdiar*; *triumphāre* > *triomfar*; *lampas* **lampa* > *lampa*; **camisile*? > *camsil* (dialectically *cansil*; so *Samson*, *Sanso*); *cōmitem* > *comte* (dialectically *conte*). **Mbd** shows four different developments in *ambo dūos* > *ambedoș* *abdōș* *amdōș* *andōș*. **Mbt** apparently became *nt* in **cambitos* + *-ōnem* > *canton* (French?). **Mn** in the literary language generally remained unchanged (often spelled *m̄pn*), but in some dialects it was

assimilated into nn, which was locally simplified into n: *dõmina dõmna* > dompna domna donna dona, *damnãre* > dampnar damnar dannar danar, *fẽmina *fẽmna* > femna fenna (*feme* is from *fẽmena* < *fẽmĩna*),¹ *hõmĩnem *hõmnm* > omne (*ome* is from **õmene* < *hõmĩnem*).¹ **Mnc'** > ndz nz in **domnicẽlla* > donzela. **Mpt** > mt, dialectically nt: *computãre* > comtar contar, *temptãre* > temptar tentar.

76. (1) Of the groups beginning with n (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following generally remained unchanged (except that c, g before a became tš, dž in the north and northeast)—**nc, nd, ng, nm, nt**: *hanka* > anca, *blank-* > blanc (-ca -cha), *franko* > franc (-ca -cha); *mandãre* > mandar, *ũnda* > õnda; *lõngum* > lonc (-ga -ia), *plango* > planc, *rĩng* > reñc; *anĩma* > anma (also, by dissimilation, arma); *sentĩre* > sentir. For *final nd, nt*, see (2) below. **Nc'** > nts ns: **francẽ(n)sis* > françes, *mancĩpium* > mansip (also massip: cf. **ns** below), *vĩncere* > vẽncer vẽnser. **Nct** became in different dialects n' int nt ntš: *jũctum* > iõnh ioint iõnt iõnch, *ũctũra* > onchũra, **pĩnctũra* > peintũra penchũra, *plantum* > planh planch, *sanctum* > sanh saint sant. **Ndc'** became, in different dialects, ndz (later nz), nts, ndž: *quĩndẽcim* > quinze quintze quinge. **Nf** remained in some dialects, while in others it became ff, then f: *confũdit* > confõn cofõn, *infantem* > enfant effant efant, *infẽrnum* > enfern efern. **Ng** > ng: *mõnãchum *mon'gu* > mongue (*manĩcum* > margue by dissimilation). **Ns**, in learned words and new formations (see § 55, N), remained in most dialects, while in others (especially those of the centre) it became ss, then s: *consĩlium* > conselh cosselh, *in simũl* > ensem essem, **insignãre* > ensenhar essenhar, *pensãre* > pensar pessar, *sen-*

¹ Cf. § 49, (3).

sus > sens; for *final ns*, see § 63, (5). **Ntc'** > nts ns in *pan-ticem* > pansa. **Nv** remained in some dialects, while in others it became vv, then v: *convenire* > convenir covenir. **Ndc**, **ndg**, **n-g**, **ng'** have been treated under § 73.

(2) Final **nd** remained as nt in the eastern and central part of the territory, became n in the west and a part of Limousin, and disappeared altogether in a part of Languedoc and Gascony: *amando* > aman, *descēdit* > deissen, *grandem* > grant gran gra, *mūndum* > mont mon, *vēndit* > vent ben, *profūndum* > preon, *quando* > quant quan. Final **nt** remained in most of the territory, but in a part of Languedoc and Gascony became n or disappeared: *fōntem* > font fon fo, *mōntem* > mont mon, *quantum* > quant quan, *vēntum* > vent bent be.

77. Of the groups beginning with r (and not ending in l, r, w, or y), the following remained unchanged (except that c, g before a became tš, dž in the north and northeast) — **rb**, **rc**, **rd**, **rf**, **rg**, **rm**, **rn**, **rp**, **rs**, **rt**, **rv**: *barba* > barba, *cōrbum* > corp, *hērba* > erba, *ōrbum* > orp; *barca* > barca, *cīrcāre* > cercar, *clēricum* **clērcum* > clerc, *fūrca* > forca forcha, *mercātum* > mercat; *ardēntem* > arden, **perdūtum* > perdüt, *vīr(i)dem* > vert; *ōrphānum* > orfe; **carricāre* **carrigāre* **cargāre* > cargar cariar, *largum* > larc (-ga -ia), *sērica* **sēr'ga* > serga; *ērēmum* > erm, *fōrma* > forma; *hibērnūm* > ivern, *tabērna* > taverna, *tornāre* > tornar; *wērpan* > guerpier; *arsum* > ars, *cūrsum* > cors (for *vērsus* > ves, see § 55, R); *artem* > art, *fōrtē* > fort, *mōrtē* > mort; *Arvernīa* > Arvernha (also, by dissimilation, Al-), *servīre* > servir. For *final rn*, **rs**, see § 63, (5); § 65, R. **Rc'** > rts rs: *parcēre* > parcer, *parcit* > partz, **tōrcēre* > torser. **Rdc'** became, in different dialects, rdz (later rz), rts, rdž: *quatuōrdēcim* **quattōrdēcim* > quatorze quatorze quatorge. **Rdg** before a > rg, rdž: *vīridicāntem* **vīrdigāntem* > verguan verian.

Rps > **rs**: **escarpus* (= *excerptus*) > escars. **Rtm** > **rtm** or **rm**: *förti mēnte* > fortmen formen. **Rg'** has been treated under § 73.

78. Of the groups beginning with *s* (and not ending in *l*, *r*, *w*, or *y*), the following usually remained unchanged through the literary period (except that *c* before *a* became *tš* in the north and northeast) — **sc**, **sm** (*ssm*), **sn**, **sp**, **st**: **būscum* (? = *būxum*)? > *bośc*, **lūscum* > *lośc*, *pascha* > *pasca pascha*, *pěrsica pěssica* **pěsca* > *pešca*, *piscātor* > *pescaire*, *piscarium* > *pesquier peschier*, *prěscan* **trescāre* > *trescar*; *ex-mittěre* **esmittěre* (§ 55, X) > *esmetre*, *pěssimus* > *pešmes*; *eleemōšyna* > *almošna*, *asinum* > *asne*; *expōněre* **espōněre* > *esponre*, *gaspildjan?* > *guespilhar*; *præpōsitum* > *prebošt*, *tristem* > *trist*. For final *scs*, *sts*, see 2 below. **Sc'** became, in most of the territory, *is*; in parts of the north and northeast, *s*; in the west and the extreme east, *i(t)š* and *(t)š* (cf. § 73, *Ssy*): *co(g)nōscěre* > *coņisser*, *crěscěre* > *creisser*, *ex-cěrněre* **escěrněre* > *eissernir*, **ex-cerebellāre* **es-* > *esservelar*, *fascem* > *fais*, *nascěre* > *naisser nasser naicher nacher*, *piscem* > *peiš peich pech*. **Scb** became *sb* in *episcōpus* **ebišcobus* > *bisbes*. **Spm** became *sm* in *blasphemāre* > *blasmar*. **Stg** became *sg* and *sdž* in *domesticāre* **-gāre* > *domesgar domesiar*. **Stm** became *sm* in *asthma* > *asma*. For the later history of the *s* in all these groups, see § 65, S, 1.

1. *Prěsbjter* became regularly *preštre*: § 71, 1. But beside *prěsbjter* there existed in Vulgar Latin *prebiter* (*Einf.*, § 140), the syllable *pres-* being replaced by the Latin prefix *præ-* or *pre-*, through the analogy of such words as *præbitor*, *præpositus*. From the accusative *prebitěrum* we have regularly *preveire*. *Preire* (used in *Flamenca*) seems to be a cross between *preštre* and *preveire*.

2. Final *sts*, in nearly all the territory, was reduced to *ts*: *finistis* > *finitz*, *hōstis* > *oz* (accusative *ošt*), *tristes* > *tritz* (sg. *trist*); but *sts* was kept in *ęstz* < *istos* and in its derivative *aquęstz*. Similarly final *scs* was

generally reduced to *cs*: **būscus*? > (*bōscs*) *bōcs* (accusative *bōsc*), *quīsguis* > *quēcs*.

3. *Conois* etc. < *co(g)nōsco* etc. (beside *conosc* etc.) are doubtless due to the second and third persons (*conoisses conois* etc.). Some of the modern eastern dialects have *-isso* corresponding to *-sca* (*freisso* etc.): this seems to indicate an old metathesis of *sc* in that region.

7. MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS.

79. Of the groups not yet discussed, the most important are *ct*, *gd*, *gn*, *ks*, which show palatalization. It is now generally assumed that the Celts, who had turned their native *ct* into *xt*, pronounced Latin *ct* in the same way when they learned Latin (Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 186), and likewise substituted *xs* for *ks* (Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, I, § 650), and probably *xd*, *xn* for *gd*, *gn*. The *χ* was attracted into a palatal spirant by the following dental, and the dental itself was then palatalized. Most philologists explain the development of *cl*, *gl* into *l'* (cf. § 68) in a similar way. Inasmuch as Indo-European *pt* had also been changed to *xt* in Celtic, it is not unlikely that the Celts substituted *xt*, *xs* for Latin *pt*, *ps* in a few words; the *χ* replacing *p* may sometimes have been rounded.

1. To account for palatalization in the non-Celtic parts of southern Gaul, we may assume either that the spirant pronunciation spread from the Celtic to the other regions, or that in the latter the palatalization came about simply through the mutual attraction of the guttural and the dental.

80. The groups will now be discussed in alphabetical order: —

Bc > (**pc*), *ptš* (before *a*): **reprōb(i)cat* > *reprōpcha*.

Brg > *rg* in *fabrīca* **fabrīga* > *farga*.

Bs > *bs* in the learned words *absens*, *absensa*.

Bsc > *sc*: *obscurus* > *escürs*.

Bst > st: *sūbstat* > soſta.

Bt > bt, t: *subtilem* > sobtil sotil. See also βt below.

Bts > ts: *sūbtus* > soſtz.

βc > uc: **avīca* **aβca* > auca.

βc' > udz or uts, later uz, us: *avicellum* **aβcellu* > auzeļ
auceļ. Cf. § 65, C', 1.

βd > ud, in the west bd: *dēbitum* **dēβīdu* **deβdu* > deude,
mal'habitum **malaβīdu* **malaβdu* > malaude; *civitatē* **cīβi-*
dāde **cīβdad* > cibdat. Cf. βt below.

βt > ut, in the west pt: *dēbitum* **dēβtu* > deute depte, *dūbito*
**dūβto* > doute dopte, *mal'habitum* **malaβtu* > malaute ma-
lape; *civitatē* **cīβtate* > ciutat (later cieutat: § 44, 2)
ciptat, **mōvīta* **mōβta* > moūta, **remōvītum* ? > remoute
(*Girart*). *Depte*, *malape* are not confined to the west (mod-
ern Limousin *dete*, Dauphiné *malate*); they come also from
Latin *dēb'tum*, *mal'hab'tum*: cf. § 47, (3).

Cc' > its > is; in the west and the extreme east itš or tš:
ecc'hic > eici eissi eichi achi.

Cm > cm, m: **Jācomus* > Iacmes Iames (also, perhaps bor-
rowed, Iaumes).

C'm > im or sm: *dēcīmum* > deime deſme, *facīmu(s)* > faim.
Cf. § 52, (4).

Ct > tš in most of the territory; but in the north and north-
east, and in the southwest, it became, as in French, it: *coctāre*
> cochar coitar, *dictum* > dig dit, *factum* > fag fait, *lacte* > lag
lait, *lectum* > lieg leit, *lūcta* > lūcha, *noctem* > nuęg nuęit,
pactum-a > pacha, *pēctus* > pięg peitz, *ōcto* > uęich¹ uęit. The
ct of (*e-*)*jectāre* > getar does not show popular treatment;
the word is similarly irregular in most of the other languages.

C't seems to give the same results as ct, namely tš and it:
dīcītis > ditz, **explīcītāre* > esplechar espleitar, *facītis* > faitz,

¹The *i* in *ueich* seems to be merely graphic

placitum > plach plait, (hence *plaiciamen*, *plaideiar*), **vōcītum* (= *vacuum*) > vuēch vōig¹ vōh (hence *voiar*; *voidar* would appear to presuppose a form **vōit*).

Dc, dg: see § 73, D-g.

Dc', in the greater part of the territory, became dz, later z; but in Auvergne and some western dialects it became ts, and in parts of the southeast and southwest it gave dž: *duōdēcim* **dōdēcim* > dōze dotze dōge, *jūdīcem* > iūtge, *radicina* > razina, *sēdēcim* > seze seṭze seṭge. *Iūtge* may have been influenced by iūtiar.

Dn developed peculiarly in *consuetūdīnem* **costūmen* > costūm, *incūdīnem* **inclūd-*? > enclūtge.

Gd > dž and id, corresponding to the tš and it from ct: **frīgđum* (= *frīgđum*) > frēg frēit (fem. frēia frēida). The irregularity in *amýgdāla* > amandola goes back to Vulgar Latin. *Frezir freizir* is perhaps from **fre(i)zar* (cf. Italian *frizzare*) < **frigdiare*.

G'd: see Yd.

Gm > m: *pigmēntum* > pimen. *Fragment* is learned. Greek γμ became um: *phlēgma* > fleuma, *sagma* > sauma.

Gn > n': *agnēllum* > anheḷ, *pūgnum* > pōnh. According to the rhymes, final n' would seem to have become n in many dialects. *Stagnum* > estanc, *rēgnum* > renc (also *reing*) show an early metathesis. When *gnōsco* lost its g, *cognōsco* became **conōsco* in popular Latin.

Gnd > n'd, later, in different dialects, ind, n'd, nd, ndž: *cōgnītum* **cōn'īdu* > **çõnhede* **çõnhde*, then *çõinde*, *cuęnde*, *çõnge*. Cf. Gnt below. See § 47, 1.

Gnt > n't, later, in different dialects, int, n't, nt: *cōgnītum* > **cõn'ītu* > **çõnhete* (the t being due to clerical influence) >

¹ The *i* in *voig* seems to be merely graphic.

çoïnte çoïte; *dignitātem* **dīn'tāte* > denhtat. Cf. Gnd above.

Ks > is, in most of the territory; in Auvergne and in the extreme east it became itš or tš: *ac sic* > aissi, *exāmen* > eissam eicham echam, *exilium* > eissilh, *exire* > eissir eichir ichir, **exorbāre* > eissorbar, *laxat* > laissa, *uxōrem* > oisor, *tōxicum* > tūeissec. In *essaïar*, *essemble*, *essilh*, the prefix became es- through the analogy of ex- before consonants: cf. § 55, X.

Ksc > sc; before a, in the north and northeast, stš: **laxicāre* > laschar, *toxicāre* > toscar.

Ksm > s'm, later sm: *prōximum* > prōsme pruesme. For the later history of the s (pruēime), see § 65, S, 1.

Kss > is: **exser(r)āre* (*Einf.*, § 142) > eissarrar, **exsūcāre* > eissugar (*essugar* presupposes a Vulgar Latin es-: see § 55, X).

Pf > f: *sapphīrum* > safir.

Ppc > (*pc), ptš (before a): **cloppicāre* > clopchar.

Ps, in some dialects, remained unaltered; but in most of the territory it changed (through χ s: § 79) to is, iš, š, s, and us; iš and š belonging especially to the west, us to the east: *capsa* > capsa caissa caisha casha, *ipse* > eps eis, *ipsa mēte* > epsament eissamen ichamens, *met-ipse* > medeis mezeish medes mezeus, *ne-ipse* > neeps neis neus. The ps forms seem to have been crowded out by the others, especially by those with is.

Pt > pt, later t (except in parts of Languedoc and Gascony); in a few words, ut, it: **accaptāre* (or **accapitāre*?) > acaptar achatar, *aptum* > apte, *adaptāre* > azautar (hence *azaut*) through **ađaxtāre* (§ 79), *baptizāre* > baptegar ($g = d\check{z}$) bateiar, *capitāle* > captal catal chatal, *captivum* > captiu catiu and more commonly caitiu chaitiu (through **caxtiβu*:

§ 79), *rūpta* > *rōta*, *septimāna* > septmana setmana, *sēptem* > *sēt*. *Escrich escrit* (= *scriptum*) are probably formed on the model of *dich dit*.

Td > t (through V. L. tt): *nītīdum* > *nēt*, *pūtīdum* > *pūt*. Cf. § 47, (1).

Tn: if *renha*, 'rein', is connected with *rēline* (see Körting), it must have been influenced by *renhar* < *regnāre*.

Ts: *et sīc*, under the influence of *ac sīc*, became **ec sīc* > *eissi eichi ichi*.

Yd > dž and id: *cōgīto* **cōyīdo* > *cūg cūit*, *cōgītāre* **cōyidare* > *cūiar cūidar*, *rīgīdum* **rīyīdu* > *reide* (§ 50, 1). *Rede* is perhaps a cross between *reide* and *rege*: § 49, (1).

FINAL CONSONANTS.

81. The only single consonants that occur in Latin at the end of a word are b, c, d, l, m, n, r, s, t. The only groups (in words preserved) are ks, nt, st.

SINGLE FINAL CONSONANTS.

82. D, n, r, t at the end of proclitics (*ad*, *in*, *per*, *et*) are really medial consonants, and must be distinguished from final n, r, t in independent words (*nōmen*, *frater*, *amat*); final d occurs only in proclitics. The consonants will be treated in alphabetical order: —

B appears as b in *Iacob*, p in *Iop*, both learned.

† C apparently fell after all vowels in some dialects; in others it remained after back vowels, and became i after a and front vowels: *eccu'hōc* (§ 55, W) > *ac̄o* (§ 43, 2), *ecce hōc* > *aissō ço sō*, *hōc* > *ō oc* (in the literary language these two forms were differentiated in use, *ō* meaning 'it', *oc* meaning 'yes'); *fac* > *fai*, *illāc* (§ 16, 4) > *lai la*, *ecce hac* > *sai sa*; *dīc* > *di*, *ecce*

hīc > *eici*, *sīc* > *si*. *Düi* < *dūc* may perhaps be explained as due to the analogy of *düire* and of *fai*. Cf. § 63, (6).

D in *apud* fell early: see § 65, P, 2. In the proclitics *ad*, *quid*, the d disappeared before a consonant, and before a vowel became in most dialects *đ* > *z* (cf. § 65, D): *a*, *que*; *ađ* *az*, *queđ* *quez*.

L fell in *in simul* > *essem*. It remained in the learned *Abel*, *tribunal*. It is believed by some that *sivals*, 'at least', comes from *sī vel*.

†M fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *crēdam crēda* > *creza*, *dōnum dōnu* > *dōn*, *förtem förte* > *fört*; *Adam* is learned. At the end of an independent monosyllable, it fell in some dialects and in others became n (cf. § 65, N): *jam* > *ia*, *rēm* > *re* *ren* (Marcabru uses *rey* for the rhyme), *sūm* (verb) > *sō sōn*. At the end of proclitics, m was probably kept at first before vowels and labials, while it became n before dentals, ŋ before gutturals, and disappeared before spirants; but the n forms (helped by the analogy of *en*, *non*) and those without a final consonant replaced m before vowels and partly before labials, and probably took the place of ŋ before gutturals; we find, then, sometimes m before labials, but either no consonant or n before all other sounds: *quēm* > *que*, *sūm* (verb) > *sō sōn*, *sūm* (= *sūum*) > *sō sōn sōm*, **tūm* (= *tūum*) > *tō tōn tōm*.

†N fell in Vulgar Latin at the end of a word of more than one syllable (§ 55, M): *nōmen nōme* > *nōm*. At the end of proclitics we generally find n before a vowel, a form without n before spirants, both forms before other consonants, but often m before a labial: *īn* > *en* (*en amar*, *en cant*), *e* (*e Fransa*, *e ls*), *em* (*em breu*); *nōn* > *non* (*non es*, *non ges*), *no* (*no falh*, *no tol*), *nom* (*nom plagues*).

R remained: *amātor* > amaire, *cōr* > çor, *marmor* > marbre (*marme* shows dissimilation), *sōror* > sorre (*sor* through proclitic use). So in proclitics: *per* > per, *sūper* > sōbre.

1. A Provençal final r began to fall in the west and south in the 14th century: cf. § 65, R, 1.

S remained: *amīcus* > amics, *cōrpus* > çors, *facias* > fassas, *fōrtēs* > fōrtz, *ōpēras* > obras, *sūbtus* > soz. Between a palatal, or an n that did not fall, and an s, a t developed in some dialects: *annos* > anz, *fīlios* > filz; cf. § 63, (1), (8).

1. Final s began to fall or to become i in many dialects as early as the 14th century: cf. § 65, S, 1. In *mai*, beside *mais*, the fall was earlier.

2. Final ts > t, in the second person plural of verbs, in parts of Limousin and Dauphiné: *habētis* > avēt. Cf. § 64. In all first person plural forms (except *esmes*) final s fell very early: *amāmus amāmu'* > amám. Cf. § 167.

3. Through the influence of such common adverbs as *entz* < *īntus*, *fors* < *fōris*, *ios* < *deōrsūm*, *mais* < *magis*, *mens* < *mīnus*, *nemps* < *nīmis*, *plūs* < *plūs*, *sotz* < *sūbtus*, *sus* < *sūrsum*, s, coming to be regarded as an adverbial ending, was often added to the suffix *-men* (*belamens*), to many other adverbs, as *ensem-s*, *era-s*, *onca-s*, *poissa-s*, and to some prepositions, as *sen-s* (cf. *tras*, *vers*, etc.). By the analogy of such double forms, we have *for*, *men* beside *fors*, *mens*.

4. *Magis*, used as a proclitic, probably became in Vulgar Latin **mais* and **mas*, whence Provençal *mais* and *mas*. For *mai*, see 1 above.

T, in independent words, fell very early, except in the preterit of verbs; there it was retained in most dialects in weak preterits of the first and third conjugations, in many dialects in weak preterits of the fourth, but disappeared in strong preterits: *amat* > ama, *cantābat* > cantava, *dar* **hat* > dara, *dōnet* > don, *stat* > esta, *partībat* > partia, *placet* > platz, *tenēr* + *-ē(b)at* > tenria, *vēnit* > ven; *donāvit* > donet done, *vēndīdit* **vendēdit* > vendet vende, *partīvit partīt* > partī partit, *placuit* > plac, *vidit* > vi. In the proclitics *et* and **ot* (= *aut*), the t fell before consonants; before vowels it became d,

which, under the influence of *ad* and *quid*, developed like an original d: *et* > e, *eđ* ez; **ot* > o, *ođ* oz; later, e and o came to be used often before vowels also.

FINAL GROUPS.

83. Ks remained in Vulgar Latin at the end of monosyllables only (§ 55, X); there it became, in Provençal, is: *rēx* > *reis*, *sēx* > *seis*. *Greccx*, *nicx* are Latinisms.

Nt was generally reduced to n; but in the extreme north and some parts of the south the t was retained in *-ant*: *amant* > aman, *habē(b)ant* > avian aviant; *cantent* > canten; *vēndunt* > *vendon*. In some dialects the n fell after o, u (*vendo*, au); *-on* and *-o* were used concurrently by the poets.

St > s in *est* > es. Cf. § 28, 5.

SPORADIC CHANGE.

84. For certain consonant changes no laws have been established.¹ Some of them doubtless originate in the language of children, which is governed by principles different from those which regulate the speech of adults. Others are due to vague associations of sound or sense. Borrowed and learned words are especially exposed to such whimsical alteration.

INSERTION.

85. The insertion (or addition) of a consonant, in such cases as those mentioned below, is probably always due to some false association or wrong etymology, but the specific

¹The phenomena of dissimilation have been well classified by M. Grammont in *La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, 1895. For metathesis, see *Zs.*, XXVIII, 1.

cause often cannot be ascertained; the added consonant seems to be generally a liquid or a nasal:—

alhondre -s < aliündē: V. L. *aliünder?

consi = cossi < eccu' sic: analogy of the prefix co- con-. Cf. § 76, (1),
nf, ns.

enclutge < incüdüñem: cf. French *enclume*.

engal = egal < aquälem: analogy of the prefix e- en-. Cf. § 76, (1),
nf, ns.

invern = ivern < hibërnum: hi- mistaken for the prefix in-; cf. Italian
inverno, etc.

parven (hence *parvensa*) < parëntem (*parère*): analogy of *ferven*, *serven*,
or of *espaven*, *espavensa*?

penchenar < pectinäre: analogy of *pencheire*, *penchura*?

perdris = perditz < perdicem: analogy of *perdre*? Cf. French *perdrix*.

pouzer = pouze < pöllicem: confusion with *polgar* < pollicäre.

refreitor = refeitor < refectörrium: association with *refreidar* (*freit*).

renlinquir = relinquir < relinquère: analogy of e- en-; cf. *reforsar* and
French *renforcer*.

METATHESIS.

86. Metathesis is not very common in Provençal, although a few texts offer many examples; it is apparently restricted to liquids and nasals:—

cabirol = *cabriol < caprëolum.

cocodrilla < crocodilum: cf. Italian *cocodrillo*.

craba = cabra < capra.

enfrondar = *enfondrar < French *effondrer* < ?*infünduläre.

escremir < skirmön: cf. French *escrimer*.

estanc < stagnum: cf. French *étang*.

esturmen = estrument < instrumentum: cf. Italian *stormento*.

formir = fromir < frumjan: cf. French *formir*, etc.

freir = ferir < ferire.

grada = garda < *warda.

grepir = guerpír < wërpan.

lhun = nulh < nüllum: analogy of *negun*.

presseguier (also *pess-*) < *préssega < përsšca.

reñc (also *regne*) < rëgnum.

trida < *τρίψιδα*.

tronar < *tonitruāre* + *thrōnus*.

truoill < *tōrculum*.

trobar < ? *tūrbāre*: see Kōrting.

1. In *ginhol* = *genolh* < *genūcūlum* the palatalization is shifted from the liquid to the nasal. In *lunh* = *nulh* < *nullum*, on the other hand, the palatalization remains at the end of the word, but the liquid and the nasal change places.

DISSIMILATION.

87. Dissimilation, like the other irregular phenomena, affects mainly liquids and nasals, particularly r; it is not, however, entirely confined to these classes. The two nasals, m and n, are similar enough to undergo dissimilation. Some of the cases go back to Vulgar Latin, while others are peculiar to Provençal or to Provençal and French. In the table below, a dash indicates the total disappearance of the consonant in question.

$\beta + \beta > \beta + -$ (v + —): *habēbam* > **aβēa* > *avia*, **vivāciārium* > *viacier*, *vivācius* > *viatz*. *Vianda*, whatever its ultimate origin may be, was probably borrowed from French.

$\mathbf{k}w + \mathbf{k}w > k + \mathbf{k}w$: *quīnque* > *cīnque* > *cinc*.

$l + l < r + l, - + l, d + l$: *calamēllum* > *calameł* *caramel*, **umbilicūlum* > *emborigol*, *flēbilem* > *fleble* *freble* *feble*, *ūlulāre* > *ulular* *udolar*. Perhaps *pūs* = *plūs* < *plūs* is to be explained by dissimilation, occurring in such phrases as *plus larc*, *plus lonc*.

$\mathbf{m} + \mathbf{m} > \mathbf{n} + \mathbf{m}$: *memorāre* > *membrar* *nembrar* (*renembransa*).

$\mathbf{m} + \mathbf{n} > \mathbf{m} + \mathbf{r}$: **comīnicāre* > *comenegar* *comergar*, **indomīnicātum* > *endomeniat* *endomergat*, *manūpium* > *mansip* *marsip*, *manūcum* > *margue*, *mōnāchum* > *mongue* *morgue*.

n + m > **r + m**: *anīma* > anma arma, **mīnimāre* > mermar.

n + n > **n + r**, **r + n**; ? **d + n**: *canōnicum* > canónegue canorgue, *venēnum* > verin; *nec ūnum* > negün degün? (cf. Andalusian and Asturian *dengun*, Catalan *dingu*, apparently from *nec ūnum + nīngūlum*).

r + r > **r + —**, **— + r**, **l + r**: **Bernhardum* > Bernart Bernat, *marmor* > marbre marme, *prōprium* > prōpri prōpi; *dīe Mērcūrī* (influenced by *dīe Vēnēris*) > dimeçres dimeçres, *grandem rem* > granre ganre, *pr(eh)ēndēre* > prenre penre, *prēsbyter* > prestre pestre; *arbitrium* > albire, *Arvērniūm* > Alvernhe, *peregrīnus* > *pele(g)rīnus* > peleris, *pūrpūra* > polpra.

s + s > **— + s**: **spasmāre* > (espasme) pasmar (cf. French *pâmer*), perhaps through confusion of the initial es- with the prefix ex-.

t + t? > **— + t**: *statiōnem?* > sazo (cf. French *saison*, Spanish *sazon*).

y + y > **y + —**: **disjejunāre* > **disjeunāre* > **disy'nāre* > dis'nar disnar.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

88. The most important morphological developments are common to all, or nearly all, the Romance languages. They may therefore be ascribed, in their early stages, to Vulgar Latin, although direct evidence of their beginnings is scanty.

I. DECLENSION.

NOUNS.

89. (1) During the late Vulgar Latin and early Romance period neuter nouns gradually became masculine; this change was doubtless due in part to phonetic developments which obliterated distinctive endings: *dōnum* > *don*, m.; *nōmen* > *nom*, m. *Mare*, however, became almost always feminine in Gaul: *la mar*. Some neuter plurals in *-a*, used mainly in a collective sense, were preserved and eventually became feminine singulars: *fōlium fōlia* > *fōlha*, f. sg.; *lignum ligna* > *lenha*, f. sg.; so *luōgua*, *pōma*, *prada*, beside *lōc*, *pōm*, *prat* (and, by analogy, *grasa*, beside *gras* < *gradus*); similarly *labia* > *lavias*, f. pl.

(2) Masculine and feminine nouns usually kept their original gender. Abstract nouns in *-or*, however, regularly became feminine in Gaul, other abstract nouns being mostly feminine in Latin: *honōrem* > *onor*, f.; *sapōrem* > *sabor*, f. With the exception of *manus*, which generally retained its gender, feminine nouns of the second and fourth declensions, unless they

passed into the first declension (*pīrus* > *pēra*), became masculine, to conform to the usual *-us* type: *fraxīnus* > *fraisnes*, m.; *pīnus* > *pins*, m. Attracted by such words as these, *arbor* became masculine. There were some other less important shifts.

1. *Juventus*, passing into the second declension, became masculine (*ioven*); but we find also *ioventut*, f. *Laus* became masculine in Provençal; *fin*, on the other hand, is always feminine. *Mērūla* > *merle*, m. *Correitz*, *linh*, both m., occur beside *correia* < *corrīgia*, *linha* < *līnea*. Other similar changes might be noted. Pr. *dia* (also *di*), like Latin *dīes*, is usually masculine.

90. Some nouns passed from the fourth to the second declension in the classic Latin period (*dōmus*, *ficus*); the rest doubtless followed in Vulgar Latin (*frūctus*,¹ *gradus*, *manus*). Fifth declension nouns in *-ies* went over, for the most part, to the first declension:² *dīes* > *dia*, *facies* > *fassa*, *glacies* > *glassa*, *rabies* > *rabia*; but we find also *di*, *fat*, *glatz* (*ratge* is probably French), following the third declension type. Fifth declension nouns which did not shift to the first came to be declined after the model of the third (*fides*, *res*, *spes*). The five declensions were therefore reduced to three, presumably in Vulgar Latin times. Among these there were some exchanges: *polvera*, *vergena*; cf. § 89, (1), (2), 1.

91. The use of cases became more and more restricted in Vulgar Latin, prepositional constructions taking the place of pure case distinction. At the beginning of the Romance period, nouns probably had, in unstudied speech, only two cases in constant use: a nominative and an accusative or accusative-ablative. These two cases were generally retained

¹ Cato uses *fructi*.

² The process began in classic Latin: *materies materia*, etc.

in Provençal, for the second and third declensions, until the literary period: we may call them *nominative* and *objective*.

(1) The locative, which had almost vanished in classic Latin, lingered in Vulgar Latin only in names of places. It has left no sure traces in Provençal.

(2) The vocative, in classic Latin, was like the nominative for most words; in Vulgar Latin it probably disappeared, except in Church phrases, such as *mī dōmīne*. In Provençal we find the nominative regularly used in address (chanços, companh, empeiraire, ioglars, Papiols), although the objective occasionally occurs in its stead (barons pl., ioglar malastruc, trachor).

(3) The genitive, in the popular language, was little by little replaced by other constructions—commonly by the ablative with *de* or by the dative; the beginnings of this substitution may be observed as early as Plautus. Among Provençal nouns—aside from such learned forms as *ancianor*, *christianor*, *companhor*, *paianor*, *parentor*—we find remnants of the genitive only in a few compound words, as *diiçous* < *diē Jōvis*, and in the standing phrase *es mestier* < *est ministērii*.

(4) The dative, which in most words had the same ending as the ablative, came to be replaced, in the greater part of the Empire, by the accusative with *ad*; this construction, too, goes back as far as Plautus. Provençal nouns retain no traces of the dative.

(5) The ablative, after the fall of final *m* (§ 55, M) and the loss of quantitative distinctions in unstressed syllables (§ 21), differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of nearly all nouns: *causām causā*, *dōnūm dōnō*, *patrēm patrē*, *frūctūm frūctū*, *dīēm dīē*. Furthermore, some prepositions (especially *in*) were used both with the accusative and

with the ablative. It was inevitable, then, that the two cases should be confounded in the singular, and we have evidence of such confusion as early as the first century of our era; this led gradually to a substitution of the accusative for the ablative in the plural, the accusative plural being somewhat commoner and frequently simpler than the ablative. We may, therefore, take the accusative as the basis of the Provençal objective, remembering, however, that this accusative has been more or less blended with the ablative.

(6) The two-case declension remained theoretically in use in Provençal literature through the 14th century; but in texts later than the 12th, cases are often confused. From the spoken language the declension disappeared, in the west (as in Catalan), before the literary period; in the centre and east, probably in the 12th century; in the north, in the 13th. The case preserved was usually the objective, but sometimes the nominative. Some nouns in *-aire* *-ador* kept both forms, with a differentiation of meaning.

92. In the discussion of declensions some phonetic peculiarities must not be overlooked:—

(1) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a stressed *ē*, followed in the next syllable by final *-ī*, would regularly give *ī* (cf. § 27, 1); but the *ē* is preserved by the analogy of the nom. and obj. sg. and the obj. pl.: *capillī* > cabel, *mīssī* > mes, *quēti* > quet, *sēri* > ser. We do, however, find *cabil*, and (perhaps by analogy) *auzil* < *aucēlli*.

(2) In the nom. pl. of the 2d declension, a *c* or *g* before the final *-ī* would regularly be palatalized (cf. § 55, C, G); but it is preserved from palatalization by the analogy of the other three forms: *amīcī* > amic, *lōngī* > lonc.

(3) For the development of a t between a palatal or an n and a final s, see § 82, S: *annos* > anz, *filios* > filz.

(4) For the simplification of final scs, sts to cs, ts, see § 78, 2: **būscus*? > boçs, *trīstes* > tritz.

(5) For the history of *-arius* and *-tōrius*, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1.

93. (1) Nouns whose objective singular ended in s were invariable in the earlier part of the literary period; *bracchium* > bratz, *cōrpus* > çors, *imperatricem* > emperairitz, *fascem* > fais, *latus* > latz, *lūcem* > lütz, *mīssum* > meş, *nasum* > nas, *ōpus* > ops, *ūrsum* > ors, *pīscem* > peis, *pēctus* > peitz, *prētium* > pretz, *tēmpus* > tems, *vērsum* > vers, *vīsum* > vis, *vōcem* > vōtz. Later, however, a plural (originally obj. pl.) was made for such words by adding *-es*, generally at a time when final ts had been reduced to s (§ 64): *brasses*, *çorses*, *meşes*, *peises*, *verses*; examples occur as early as the end of the 12th century.

(2) Other invariable nouns are *midons*, *sidons*, and often *laus* and *reş*; the last two sometimes have an objective *lau*, *re*. *Midons* comes from the Church Latin *mī dōmīne*, which was popularized by the substitution of the Provençal *don* for *dōmīne* and the addition of the nom. *-s*; the term was transferred from religious to feudal, and thence to amatory use, and came to mean 'my lady.' *Sidons* is formed on the model of *midons*.

(3) For nouns in tš, see § 63, (1): **disdūctum* > *desdüg*, *frūctum* > *früch*, *gaudium* > *gaug*, *nōctem* > *nuech*. Such words were very often written in the plural with *-gz*, which was pronounced either ts or tš. The pronunciation ts is attested by such rhymes as *malfagz*: *alumenatz*.

94. Infinitives used substantively conformed to the 2d de-

clension type: lauzars lauzar (like *foçs foç*), rire-s rire (like *fabre-s fabre*): see § 96. The same thing is true of masculine post-verbal nouns: (*getar*) *gețz geț*, (*guidar*) *guitz guit*, (*lansar*) *lans* (invariable).

FIRST DECLENSION.

95. This declension came to include a part of the fifth and also some neuter plurals of the second and third. With the exception of *dia* (nearly always masculine) and of a few learned words, it contained only feminine nouns. As the nominative, accusative, and ablative singular early became identical, leaving only one form in the singular, the plural forms were reduced to one, the accusative crowding out the nominative; this substitution, which must have been begun before the Provençal period, was doubtless helped by the identity of nominative and accusative plural in feminine nouns of the third declension. *Causa* will serve as a model:—

<i>causa</i>	> causa	<i>causæ</i> * <i>causas</i>	> causas
<i>causam</i>	> causa	<i>causas</i>	> causas

1. *Dia* sometimes has a nom. sg. *dias*, following the example of other masculine nouns.

2. Many feminine proper names, in Gaul and elsewhere, developed a Low Latin declension *-a -āne(m)* or *-a -ēne(m)*, as *Anna Annāne*. Provençal has few traces of this inflection. The word *putana* <? *pūtīda + ānem + a* may be a remnant of it. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 27; E. Philippon, *Les accusatifs en -on et en -ain, Rom.*, XXXI, 201.

SECOND DECLENSION.

96. This declension came to include the fourth. With the exception of *mas*, 'hand' (generally feminine), it contained only masculine nouns. The different types may be illustrated by *fōcus*, *dōnum*, *faber*:—

<i>fòcus</i> > fòcs	<i>dõnum</i> * <i>dõnus</i> > dõns	<i>faber</i> > faure fabre fabres
<i>fòcum</i> > fòc	<i>dõnum</i> > dõn	<i>fabrum</i> > fabre
<i>fòcī</i> > fòc	<i>dõna</i> * <i>dõnī</i> > dõn	<i>fabrī</i> > fabre
<i>fòcos</i> > fòcs	<i>dõna</i> * <i>dõnos</i> > dõns	<i>fabros</i> > fabres

For the c of *fòcī*, see § 92, (2). For **dõnus*, etc., see § 89 (1). Nom. fabre is due to the analogy of the other three cases; the s of fabres is borrowed from the prevailing fòcs type.

1. Neuters which long preserved their gender often have no *-s* in the nom. sg.: *segle* or *segles*. Nouns in *-age* from *-aticum* commonly have no *-s*: *corage*, *damnage*, *message*, *senhorage*; but forms with *-s* occur also. Learned nouns in *-i* from *-ium* regularly have no *-s*: *breviari*, *emperi*, *iuzizi*, *testimoni*. Post-verbal nouns, on the other hand, usually take the nom. *-s*: *albires*, *blasme-s*, *consires*, *desires* (cf. § 94). By the analogy of the *fabre-s*, *segle-s*, *blasme-s* types, many masculines in *-e* sometimes drop the *-s*: *clergue-s*, *diable-s*, *morgue-s*, *oncle-s*, *poble-s*. *Maestre*, *prestre* regularly have no *-s*.

2. Most proper names are declined like common nouns: *Arnautz Arnaut*, *Boecis Boeci*, *Enrics Enric*, *Lozoics Lozoic*, *Peire-s Peire*. Many proper names, however, developed in Gaul and elsewhere, from the 9th century on, a Low Latin declension *-us -õne(m)*, as *Petrus Petrõnis* (cf. § 95, 2): hence *Carle-s Carló*, *Peire-s Peiró*, etc.; so *Bergonhs Bergonhó*, etc.

3. *Mas*, being usually feminine, has a nom. pl. *mas*.

4. For *pagadi*, *salvi*, *solí*, etc., see § 51, 1.

THIRD DECLENSION.

97. This declension absorbed a part of the fifth: cf. § 90.

98. Nouns whose stem was different in the nominative and the accusative singular, reconstructed the nominative to correspond to the accusative, the new form being similar to the original genitive: *papilio papiliõnem* > *papiliõnis papiliõnem*, *pēs pēdem* > *pēdis pēdem*. The change began in the Vulgar Latin period. Exceptions to the rule are names of persons,

unless they ended in *-ans* or *-ens*: *nēpos nepōtem* > *neps nebot*; but *amans amantem* > **amantis amantem* > *amans amán*.

1. *Carnis* for *caro* is used by classic writers. *Grūis* for *grūs* occurs in the *Appendix Probi* III, belonging perhaps to the 3d century. *Papiliōnis, pēdis, travis* = *trabs*, and some others are found in the 8th century *Glossary of Reichenau*.

99. Masculine nouns of the third declension, early in the Provençal period, made their nominative plural conform to the second declension type, thus distinguishing it from the objective plural: *pater patrem patres patres* > *paire paire paire paires* (cf. Old French and Italian). Feminines, on the other hand, kept the nominative plural in *-s*: *mater matrem matres matres* > *maire maire maires maires*.

100. A few neuter nouns, becoming masculine in Vulgar Latin, developed distinctively masculine forms in the singular: *gēnus gēnus* > **gēnēris gēnērem* > *genres genre*; so *fūlgur* (> *fūlger*) > **fūlgērem* > *fouzer*. Most neuters, however, kept in the singular their original stem: *sēmen* > *sem, tēmpus* > *tems*. But those in *-men* regularly, and those in *-r* sometimes, took an *-s* in the nominative singular: *flūmen flūmen* > *flüms flüm, marmor marmor* > *marme-s marme*; *çor*, in the literary language, usually has no nominative *-s*. In the plural most neuters brought their forms into harmony with the masculine type, but those in *-us* kept the *-s* throughout: (*caput* >) *capus capus* **capum capita capita* > *caps cap cap caps, cōr cōr cōrda cōrda* > *çor çor çor çors, nōmen nōmen nōmīna nōmīna* > *noims noim noim noims*; but *cōrpus cōrpus cōrpōra cōrpōra* > *çors çors çors çors*. *Mare*, becoming feminine, was declined thus: *mars mar mars mars*.

1. *Gēnus* also became *ges*, which was used as an adverb.

101. The third declension comprises three principal types: (1) nouns which in Latin had no difference of stem or of

accent between the nominative and the accusative singular;
 (2) those which had a difference of stem but not of accent;
 (3) those which had a difference of accent.

(1) Nouns with no difference of stem or of accent:—

MASCULINE

<i>canis</i> > cas	<i>pater</i> > paire-s	<i>sōl</i> > sōl-s
<i>canem</i> > ca	<i>patrem</i> > paire	<i>sōlem</i> > sōl
<i>canes</i> > ca	<i>patres</i> > paire	<i>sōles</i> > sōl
<i>canes</i> > cas	<i>patres</i> > paires	<i>sōles</i> > sōls

FEMININE

<i>fīnis</i> ¹ > fis	<i>mater</i> > maire	<i>fīdes</i> > feş
<i>fīnem</i> > fi	<i>matrem</i> > maire	<i>fīdem</i> > fe
<i>fīnes</i> > fis	<i>matres</i> > maires	<i>fīdes</i> > feş
<i>fīnes</i> > fis	<i>matres</i> > maires	<i>fīdes</i> > feş

1. Masculine nouns of this type which etymologically had no -s in the nom. sg., often took one, even in the earliest times.

2. *Laus* and *res* were often invariable, but were sometimes declined like *sols* and *fes*.

(2) Nouns with a difference of stem but not of accent:—

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
<i>pōns</i> * <i>pōntis</i> > ponz	<i>pars</i> * <i>partis</i> > partz	<i>lūmen</i> > lūm-s
<i>pōntem</i> > pon	<i>partem</i> > part	<i>lūmen</i> > lūm
<i>pōntes</i> > pon	<i>partes</i> > partz	<i>lūmīna</i> > lūm
<i>pōntes</i> > ponz	<i>partes</i> > partz	<i>lūmīna</i> > lūms

NAMES OF PERSONS

<i>cōmes</i> > coms	<i>hōmo</i> > om
<i>cōmītem</i> > comte	<i>hōmīnem</i> > ome omne ²
<i>cōmītes</i> > comte	<i>hōmīnes</i> > ome omne
<i>cōmītes</i> > comtes	<i>hōmīnes</i> > omes omnes

1. For other neuter types, see § 100.

2. *Om* later developed an inflection *oms om om oms*.

3. *Lex, rex* became *leis lei leis leis, reis rei rei reis*.

¹ See § 89, 1.

² See § 47, (3).

(3) Nouns with a difference of accent: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>sërmo</i> * <i>sermōnis</i>	> sermoș	<i>ratio</i> * <i>rationīs</i>	> razos
<i>sermōneri</i>	> sermo	<i>rationem</i>	> razo
<i>sermōnes</i>	> sermo	<i>rationes</i>	> razos
<i>sermōnes</i>	> sermoș	<i>rationes</i>	> razos

NAMES OF PERSONS IN -ANS, -ENS

<i>amans</i> * <i>amantis</i>	> amáns	<i>parens</i> * <i>parēntis</i>	> paréns
<i>amantem</i>	> amán	<i>parēntem</i>	> parén
<i>amantes</i>	> amán (f. amáns)	<i>parēntes</i>	> parén (f. paréns)
<i>amantes</i>	> amáns	<i>parēntes</i>	> paréns

NAMES OF PERSONS NOT IN -ANS, -ENS

<i>amātor</i>	> amaire	<i>sēnior</i>	> seňher	<i>mūlier</i>	> moľher
<i>amatōrem</i>	> amadoř	<i>seniōrem</i>	> senhoř	<i>muliērem</i> ¹	> molheř
<i>amatōres</i>	> amadoř	<i>seniōres</i>	> senhoř	<i>muliēres</i>	> molheřs
<i>amatōres</i>	> amadořs	<i>seniōres</i>	> senhořs	<i>muliēres</i>	> molheřs
<i>serviōtor</i>	> servire	<i>baro</i>	> bar	<i>sōror</i>	> sořre soř ²
<i>serviōrem</i>	> servidoř	<i>barōnem</i>	> baro	<i>sorōrem</i>	> sořoř
<i>serviōres</i>	> servidoř	<i>barōnes</i>	> baro	<i>sorōres</i>	> sořořs
<i>serviōres</i>	> servidořs	<i>barōnes</i>	> baros	<i>sorōres</i>	> sořořs

1. After the same pattern as *senher*, we have *pastor pastōrem* > *pastre pastór*, etc.; after the *bar* pattern, **companio* (*Einf.*, § 43) **companiōnem* > *companh companhó*, **fillo* (Körting) **fillōnem*? > *fel feló, glütto* (= *glūto*) *gluttiōnem* > *glot glotó, latro latrōnem* > *laire lairó, lëo* (treated like the name of a person) *leōnem* > *leu leó*, etc. On the model of *amaire*, *servire*, we find *trobaire trobadór*, etc., *iauzire iauzidór*, etc.; and, for the second and third conjugations, *teneire tenedór*, etc., *beveire bevedór*, etc. The inflection of such words became much confused, and some of them eventually developed double declensions: *bars bar bar bars*, *barós baró baró barós*; *emperaires emperaire emperaire emperaires*, *emperadōrs emperadór emperadór emperadōrs*. Some proper names follow the *bar* model: *Bret Bretó*, *Folc-s* (*Folques*) *Folcó* (later *Folcós Folcó*), *Gasc Gascó*, *Uc Ugó*, (later *Ucs Uc*); cf. § 96, 2.

¹ See § 16, 1.

See § 52, (1), 1.

ADJECTIVES.

102. What has been said concerning the inflection of nouns applies also to adjectives: see §§ 91-101. For pronominal adjectives see §§ 114 ff.

1. The operation of phonetic laws sometimes results in a difference in stem between the m. and the f.: *bos bona, larcs larga, nutz nuda, preon preonda; nut muda, prezat prezada*. For *pauc pauca, rauc rauca*, see § 65, C, 1. For *-arius -aria, -tōrius -tōria*, see § 23, 1; § 73, Ry, 1.

2. Adjectives in -s or -š are undeclinable in the m. sg.: *glorios, perfieg*. Those in -s originally had no inflectional ending in the m. pl., but later they sometimes added -es: *divers diverses, frances franceses*. For the pl. of those in š, see § 93, (3).

103. We must recognize two classes of adjectives: (1) those which in Latin distinguish the feminine from the masculine; (2) those which do not.

1. Adjectives like *acer*, which, though inflected after the 3d declension type, could distinguish the m. from the f. in the nom. sg., fell into one or the other—usually the first—of the following classes (*agre agra, alegre alegra; terrestre terrestre*).

(1) Masculine and feminine different: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>bèllus</i>	> bełs	<i>bèlla</i>	> beła
<i>bèllum</i>	> beł	<i>bèllam</i>	> beła
<i>bèlli</i>	> beł	<i>bèlla *bèllas</i>	> bełas
<i>bèllos</i>	> bełs	<i>bèllas</i>	> bełas
<i>pauper</i>	> paubre-s	<i>paupèra</i>	> paubra
<i>paupèrum</i>	> paubre	<i>paupèram</i>	> paubra
<i>paupèri</i>	> paubre	<i>paupèra-*as</i>	> paubras
<i>paupèros</i>	> paubres	<i>paupèras</i>	> paubras

(2) Masculine and feminine alike: —

MASCULINE		FEMININE	
<i>fidèlis</i>	> fezełs	<i>fidèlis</i>	> fezełs
<i>fidèlem</i>	> fezeł	<i>fidèlem</i>	> fezeł
<i>fidèles</i>	> fezeł	<i>fidèles</i>	> fezełs
<i>fidèles</i>	> fezełs	<i>fidèles</i>	> fezełs

1. Some adjectives of the second class were attracted into the first either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal; this happened to all adjectives in *-és, -able, -ible*, and also to *comun, dous, fol, freble, graile, len, mol, noble, paubre* (early), *rude, trist*: *cortes cortesa, durable durabla; comuna, doussa*, etc. Some kept both inflections: *dolens, dolens* or *dolenta; grans, grans* or *granda*, etc. So *gens, gens* or *genta*.

104. In impersonal constructions we frequently find a nominative singular without *-s*, which is apparently a survival of the Latin neuter: *m'es bel* (*greu, parven, semblan*, etc.) *que . . .* But the form with *-s* sometimes occurs in the same constructions: *m'es greus que . . .*

1. For *es mestier*, see § 91, (3).

105. Most adverbs of manner were formed by adding *-men* (*-ment, -mens, or -menz*) to the feminine singular of the adjective: *belamen*. These adverbs were originally ablative phrases: *serēna mēnte*, etc. In Provençal the specific meaning of the *-men* was forgotten, but the two parts might still be separated by an intervening word: *ępsa . . . ment*. When two adverbs in *-men* were used together, the ending was generally affixed to only one, oftener the first. *Bona* and *mala* could be used as adverbs without the suffix.

1. For the adverbial ending *-s*, see § 82, S, 3.

COMPARISON.

106. Adjectives and adverbs regularly formed their comparative by prefixing *plüs* to the positive, and their superlative by prefixing the definite article to the comparative: *cara, plüs cara, la plüs cara*. This method of comparison goes back to Vulgar Latin times.

1. 'Than' is expressed by *que* and *de*.

107. Some adjectives preserved their old comparative in

-ior. These comparatives had an inflection similar to that of *senher*: cf. § 101, (3) and § 101, (3), 1.

POSITIVE		COMPARATIVE	
<i>altus</i> :	aut	———	aussor
* <i>bellātus</i> = <i>bēllus</i> :	———	bellaire bellázer-s	bellazor
<i>gēntlus</i> :	gen	génsér-s	gensor
* <i>grēvis</i> = <i>gravis</i> :	grēu	grēuger	———
<i>grōssus</i> :	grōs	gruēysser	———
<i>laið</i> :	lai	láiger	———
<i>largus</i> :	larc	———	largor
<i>lēvis</i> :	lēu	lēuger	———
<i>lōngus</i> :	lonc	———	lonhōr
(<i>grandis</i>):	(gran)	máier	maiōr
(<i>bōnus</i>):	(bon)	mēlher	melhōr
(<i>paucus</i>):	(pauc)	mēnre-s	menōr
<i>nūgālis</i> :	———	———	nūalhōr
(<i>malus</i>):	(mal)	peier	peiōr
(<i>mūltus</i>):	(mōlt)	———	plūsor ¹
<i>sōrdīdus</i> :	sorde	sordeier	sordeior

108. The following neuter comparatives were used as adverbs: *genseis* *genseş* *gensetz* (< *génsér* influenced by *longeis*, *sordeis*); *longeis* *longeitz* (<? **longitius* (< *longiter* + *lōngius*); *mais* < *magis*; *mēlhs* < *mēlius*; *mēns* < *mīnus*; *peitz* < *pėjus*; *sordeis* < *sordīdus*; *viatz* < *vivacius*. *Mais*, *mēlhs*, *mēns*, *peitz* were used also as neuter pronouns. *Viatz* lost its comparative sense.

109. A few adjectives, most or all of them learned, preserved the old superlative form with an intensive sense: *altisme*, *carisme*, *peşme*, *prōşme*, *santisme*.

¹ Perhaps from a fusion of *plūs* and *pluriōres* = *plūres*. Cf. Fr.

NUMERALS.

110. The cardinal numerals are: —

iin	onze	vint e iin	dozent
dos	doteze	vint e dos	tresent
tres	trezeze	trenta	quatre cen
quatre	quatorze	quaranta	cinc cens (de)
cinc	quinze	cinquanta	mil
seis	setze, sezeze	sessanta	dos milia
set	detz e set	setanta	tres melia
ueg	detz e ueg	quatre vint	quatre mila
noü	detz e noü	nonanta	cinc millièrs (de)
detz	vint, vin	cent, cen	cent miria

111. The first two numbers were inflected as follows: —

u(n)s üna	düi doi	dos dos
ü(n) üna	dos (düi)	dos dos

Düi doi are from Vulgar Latin *dūi* = *dūo*; dos is from *dūos*, dos from *dūas*. Tres has a form *trei* (originally nom. m.), patterned after *düi*, and a form *treis*, which seems to be a cross between *tres* and *trei*. For the dialect forms of *onze*-*setze*, see §76, (1), Ndc', and §80, Dc'. Cen, multiplied by another number, took a plural form when used substantively; when used adjectively, it generally did not, but we find *dozentas* with a feminine noun. Mil had four plurals, *milia miria melia mila*; *millièrs* is a noun.

1. As an example of a longer compound numeral, we have *cen e quatre vint e ueg*.

2. From *ambo* we have the obj. forms, m. and f., *ams*, *ambas*. *Ambo* combined with *dūi* (*dūos dūas*), and perhaps influenced by Pr. *ab* (§ 65, P, 2), had this inflection:

<i>amdui</i>	<i>andui</i>	<i>abdui</i>	<i>ambedui</i>	<i>amdoas</i>
<i>amos</i>	<i>andos</i>	<i>abdos</i>	<i>ambedos</i>	<i>amdoas</i>

112. The ordinal numerals had separate forms for the two genders; the masculine forms followed the second declension

type, the feminine forms, the first declension. After 5th, they were made by adding to the cardinal numeral the originally distributive ending *-ēnus -ēna*.

primiēr, primiēra	seize(n), seizeña	onze(n), onzeña
segon(t), segonda	sete(n), seteña	doze(n), dozeña
terz, terza	oche(n), ocheña	vinte(n), vinteña
quart, quarta	nove(n), noveña	cente(n), centeña
quint, quinta	deze(n), dezeña	mile(n), mileña

113. Beside *primiēr* we find *premiēr prümüiēr promiēr* (§ 44, 1, 3), and also *prim* and *primeiran*; for the developments of the ending *-iēr*, see § 23, 1 and § 73, Ry, 1. *Terz*, *terza* regularly became *ters*, *tersa* (§ 83, Rty). Such forms as *seçonda*, *tercia*, *sexta*, *octava*, *nona*, *deçima* are learned.

1. As an example of a compound ordinal numeral, we have *vintena tersa*.

PRONOUNS.

114. Under this head will be treated not only pronouns and pronominal adjectives, but also articles.

115. In popular Latin the personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives had two sets of forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (§ 19). *Ille*, when stressed and used pronominally, became a disjunctive personal pronoun of the third person; when unstressed and used pronominally, it furnished the conjunctive forms of the third person; when unstressed and used adjectively, it developed into a definite article. *Ipsē* had similar uses. These differentiations must have begun in Vulgar Latin times.

116. The declension of *ille* was considerably altered in Vulgar Latin. The neuter *illud* disappeared, being replaced by *illum*. Through the influence of *quī cūjus cūi*, **illi illū-*

*jus*¹ *illūi*¹ came to be used beside *ille illius illi*. The feminine had, beside *illius illi*, a genitive and dative *illæ*; through the analogy of *illūjus illūi*, *illæ* was expanded into *illæjus*¹ *illæi*.¹ *Illius* then went out of use. In the plural, *illōrum* (which in some regions, by the analogy of *illūjus illūi*, had a form **illūrum*) crowded out *illārum*; this *illōrum* came to be used also as a dative.

Ipsē and *iste* followed in the main the same course as *ille*.

ARTICLES.

117. The indefinite article comes from *ūnus*, which seems to have been occasionally so used even in classic Latin: —

ū(n)s	ūna
ū(n)	ūna

118. (1) The definite article comes from unaccented *ille*, which, being used as a proclitic, regularly lost its first syllable (§ 19). *Ille* (**illi*), *illum*, *illi*, *illos*, *illa*, *illas* became respectively *le* (*li*), *lo*, *li* or *lhi*,² *los*, *la*, *las*. *Le*, *lo*, *li*, *lhi*, *la* frequently elided their vowel before another vowel (*l'an*, *l'arma*), becoming *l* or *lh*. Furthermore, *le*, *lo*, *li*, *lhi*, *los*, in the intertonic position after a vowel (*vé lo páire*), regularly lost their vowel (*vel páire*)³; and, by analogy, *la* and *las* were sometimes reduced to *l* and *ls*. We have, then, beside the full forms, the proclitics *l*, *lh*, and the enclitics *l*, *lh*, *ls*. Inasmuch as *l* might be vocalized before a dental,⁴ the enclitics *l* and *ls* sometimes became *u* and *us* (*aû portèr*, *eûz dias antix*).

(2) The particles *e* and *que*, with the enclitic *l*, formed

¹ These forms existed as early as the 1st century of our era. See *Zs.*, XXVI, 600, 619. *Ejus*, *ei* may have had some influence.

² See § 67, (2).

³ § 45.

⁴ § 74, (2).

combinations *el* and *quel*. *Quel*, being understood as *qu'el*, gave rise to a form *el*.

(3) In the f. nom. sg. there is a form *li* or *lhi*, which is hard to explain. The most likely theory is that when the masculine *quī* took the place of the feminine *quæ* (see § 133), the masculine **illī* came to be used beside *illa*,¹ for the feminine. The Provençal feminine *li* (*lhi*) which resulted was strongly supported by the analogy of a feminine possessive *mi*, beside *ma* (see § 127).²

(4) The regular forms are, therefore, the following:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	<i>nom.</i> : lē li l el	la li lhi l lh
	<i>obj.</i> : lō l u el	la l
Pl.	<i>nom.</i> : li lhi l lh	las
	<i>obj.</i> : lōs ls us	las ls

In many texts the objective forms *lo*, *los*, *ls* are used in the nominative.

1. The m. obj. sg. *le*, obj. pl. *les*, which occur in a few texts, are doubtless French. So is the enclitic form *s* for *ls* or *us*: *de s*, *entre s*, *e s*.

2. The enclitic forms combine as follows with the prepositions *a*, *con*, *de*, *en*, *entre*, *iosta*, *per*, *sus*, and with the conjunctions *e*, *ni*, *o*, *que*, *si*: *al au als aus*, *col*, *del deu dels deus* (*des*), *enl el els eus*, *entrels*, *iostal*, *pel pels*, *sul suls*; *eil* (= *e lhi*) *el* (= *e lo*), *nils*, *oill* (= *o lhi*), *quel*, *sil*. They combine freely with other words: *eral* (= *era le*), *fals* (= *fa los*), etc.

119. In some southwestern and some southeastern dialects we find forms *sō*, *sos*, *sa*, *sas*, coming from *ipse*.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.³

120. In Vulgar Latin *ēgo* lost its *g* (§ 55, G). The dative,

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 104.

² See Suchier in *Grundriss*, I, p. 627.

³ Cf. A. von Elsner, *Ueber Form und Verwendung des Personalpronomens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1886.

mīhi, was preserved only in its contracted form, *mī*. After the pattern of *mī*, **tī* and **sī* were created for the other persons.

121. Provençal has no nominative forms that are regularly unaccented. In the conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive), the direct object is distinguished from the indirect; elsewhere there is no such distinction.

CONJUNCTIVE FORMS.

122. Latin *mē* > *mē*, *mī* > *mi*, *nōs* > *nos*; *tē* > *tē*, **tī* > *ti*, *vōs* > *vos*; *sē* > *se*, **sī* > *si*. *Me mi*, *te ti*, *se si*, used as proclitics before a vowel, or as enclitics after a vowel, were reduced to *m*, *t*, *s*: *m'ama*, *t'apela*, *s'es*; *ô^m*, *bê^t*, *cosi^s*. *Nos* and *vos*, used as enclitics after a vowel, became respectively *ns* and *us*; *quē^{ns}*, *nô^{us}*; *sī vōs* > *sius*, later *sieus* (§ 32). The forms (all objective) for the first and second persons and for the third person reflexive are, then: —

FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
<i>Sg.</i> : <i>mē mi m</i>	<i>tē ti t</i>	<i>sē si s</i>
<i>Pl.</i> : <i>nos ns</i>	<i>vos us</i>	<i>sē si s</i>

1. The pronouns of the first and second persons could, of course, be used reflexively.

123. The conjunctive forms of the third person (not reflexive) come in the main from the proclitic *ille*: *illī*, *illum*, *illōrum* (**illūrum*), *illos*, *illa*, *illas* became respectively *li* or *lhi*, *lo*, *lor* (*lūr*), *los*, *la*, *las*. When used proclitically or enclitically, under the conditions described in § 118, (1), *li* (*lhi*), *lo*, *los* were reduced to *l* (*lh*), *l*, *ls*; and *l* was sometimes vocalized. *O* < *hōc* was employed also, meaning 'it.' The adverb *inde* became *ent en n* (and, through the analogy of *me m*, *te t*, *se s*, also *ne*), which was often used as a pro-

noun with the sense 'of it', 'of them', sometimes 'of him', 'of her'; *nos en* > *non*, *vos en* > *von*. The adverb *hic* became *i*, meaning 'here' or 'there,' which served also as a dative pronoun, 'to it,' 'to them'; it was then always an enclitic, forming a diphthong with a preceding vowel; it regularly took the place of *li* in the constructions *loi* = *lo li*, *lai* = *la li*. The forms are:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg. {	<i>gen.</i> : <i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>
	<i>dat.</i> : <i>li lhi l lh i</i>	<i>li lhi l lh i</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>acc.</i> : <i>lo l u</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo l o</i>
Pl. {	<i>gen.</i> : <i>ent en n ne</i>	<i>ent en n ne</i>	
	<i>dat.</i> : <i>lor lür</i>	<i>lor lür</i>	
	<i>acc.</i> : <i>los ls</i>	<i>las</i>	

1. *Les* for *los* is doubtless French. *Los*, *ls* were occasionally used for *m. lor*; *lors*, which occurs rarely for *lor*, looks like a cross between *lor* and *los*.

2. The following combinations illustrate the use of the enclitic forms: *aura i*, *be i*, *e l*, *laisa n*, *no i*, *qui ll*, *si ls*.

DISJUNCTIVE FORMS.

124. Vulgar Latin **ĕo* or **ĕu* > *eu ieu* (§ 30), which before an enclitic became *ē iē* (*ē*l, *iē*n). The other forms explain themselves. The nominative *tū*, from the beginning of the 13th century, was sometimes used for *tē* after prepositions; this use may have been suggested by the existence of *lū* = 'him'; § 125, (1). *Nos + en* > *non*, *vos + en* > *von*.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON (REFLEXIVE)
Sg. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>eu ieu e- iē-</i>	<i>tū</i>	
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>mē mi</i>	<i>tē (ti?) tū</i>	<i>sē si</i>
Pl. {	<i>nom.</i> : <i>nos</i>	<i>vos</i>	
	<i>obj.</i> : <i>nos</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>sē si</i>

1. We find, besides, the French or borderland forms *ie iou iu yo* for *eu* (*gi* and *iey* have been noted also), *mei tei sei* for *me te se*.

125. The disjunctive pronouns of the third person (not reflexive) come from accented *ille*, with the exception of *o* from *hōc*. *Illūi*, *illōrum*, *illæjus*, *illæi* lost their first syllable, perhaps through elision after a vowel; *illūjus* disappeared. *Ille*, **illī* gave *el elh*, *il ilh*; *el* sometimes vocalized its *l*. *Illūi* became *lūi*, in some dialects reduced to *lū*. *Illum* became *el elh*. *Illōrum* (**illūrum*) gave *lōr* (*lūr*). *Illos* became *els* (often *eus*) *elhs*. *Illa*, *illam* both gave *ela elha*. *Illæjus* became *leis liēs* (in some dialects reduced to *liēs*).¹ *Illæi* gave *lei* (dialectically *lè*) *lei*. *Illas* became *elas elhas*.

(2) In the feminine singular nominative there is, beside *ela elha*, a form *ilh il*. This is probably to be explained, like the feminine article *lhi li*, as coming from the masculine nominative **illi* introduced into the feminine, and supported by the feminine possessive *mi*: see § 118, (3).

(3) Some dialects preserve the final *-i* of *eli* (m. pl. nom.) and *ilhi ili* (f. sg. nom.): see § 51, 1.

(4) Occasionally the conjunctive *li* (f. sg. obj.) and *lo* (neuter sg. nom.) were used as disjunctive forms. And sometimes the masculine *lūi lū* was used for the feminine.

(5) The forms are, therefore, the following: —

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>el eū elh il ilh</i>	<i>ela elha ilh il ilhi ili</i>	<i>el lo</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>lūi lū el elh</i>	<i>leis liēs liēs lei lei lè</i>	<i>ela li lūi lū o</i>
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>il ilh el elh eli</i>	<i>elas elhas</i>	
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>lōr lūr els eus elhs</i>	<i>lōr lūr elas elhas</i>	

In many texts the objective forms *els elhs*, *leis lei* are used

¹ Cf. Thomas in *Rom.*, XII, 334; Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.*, II, page 104. For a different explanation, see Ascoli in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XV, 314, 396.

in the nominative. We then find occasionally a new objective, elses.

POSSESSIVES.

126. Beside *měus mēa, tūus tūa, sūus sūa*, there existed in popular Latin the shorter forms **mēs?* **ma*, **tūs* **ta*, *sūs sa*. Of the two forms *věster* and *vōster*, only the latter was used. To supply the lack of a third person possessive denoting a plural possessor, *illōrum* came to be employed as a possessive.

SINGULAR POSSESSIVE.

127. (1) The primarily atonic possessives come from the shorter Latin forms. The original masculine singular forms of the first person were displaced by *mōs mō*, made on the analogy of *tōs to, sōs sō*, which come regularly from **tūs* **tūm*, *sūs, sūm*; so in the objective plural we find *mōs*, corresponding to *tōs* < **tōs*, *sōs* < *sōs*. *Měi, tūi, sūi* gave *mēi, tōi tūi, sōi sūi* (§34), which, however, were often replaced by the objective forms. **Ma* **mam* **mas*, **ta* **tam* **tas*, *sa sam sas* became *ma mas, ta tas, sa sas*; *ma, ta, sa* often elided their *a* before a vowel. The formation of *midons* has been explained in §91, (2); §93, (2); §118, (3): from it came a feminine singular possessive *mī*, and, by analogy, *tī* and *sī*.

(2) The forms are: —

	FIRST PERSON				SECOND PERSON				THIRD PERSON				
Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> :	<i>mōs</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mī</i>	<i>tōs</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>sōs</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sī</i>			
	{ <i>obj.</i> :	<i>mō</i>	<i>mōn</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mī</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>tōn</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>sō</i>	<i>sōn</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sī</i>
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> :	<i>mēi</i>	<i>mōs</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>tōi</i>	<i>tūi</i>	<i>tōs</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>sōi</i>	<i>sūi</i>	<i>sōs</i>	<i>sas</i>	
	{ <i>obj.</i> :	<i>mōs</i>	<i>mas</i>		<i>tōs</i>		<i>tas</i>		<i>sōs</i>		<i>sas</i>		

They are generally used only adjectively, and without the definite article. In some early texts, however, *tōs* and *sōs*, preceded by the article, are used substantively.

128. (1) The primarily tonic possessives come from the longer Latin forms. *Měus mẽum mẽi mẽos* > *męus męu męi męus*, which regularly became *mięus* etc. (§30); an analogical form *mięu* is found beside *mięi*. In the feminine of the first person we have, instead of **męa*, *mięua* and *mia*: the first of these two forms is evidently made up from the masculine; the second may be due partly to the analogy of *mi*, partly to a proclitic use of the word (§44, 4).¹ In the second and third persons the masculine forms are mainly, and the feminine forms partially, replaced by analogical formations based on the possessive of the first person; *tũi, sũi, tũa, sũa*, however, give regularly *tõi tõi, sõi sõi, toa tua, soa sua* (§8).

(2) The forms follow, those of the third person (which correspond exactly to those of the second) being omitted:—

FIRST PERSON

Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : męus mięus	mia mięua
	{ <i>obj.</i> : męu mięu	mia mięua
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : męi mięi mięu	mias mięuas
	{ <i>obj.</i> : męus mięus	mias mięuas

SECOND PERSON

Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : tęus tięus	toa tua tięua tia
	{ <i>obj.</i> : tęu tięu	toa tua tięua tia
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : tõi tõi tõi tięi tięu	toas tuas tięuas tias
	{ <i>obj.</i> : tęus tięus	toas tuas tięuas tias

They may be used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. We occasionally find a neuter sg. nom. form without final *-s*: *lo mieu*.

PLURAL POSSESSOR.

129. *Nõster, võster* developed regularly after the *pauper*

¹ For a different explanation of *mia*, see *Gram.*, I, pp. 246-248; also Horning in *Zs.*, XXV, 341.

model: § 103, (1). The masculine singular nominative often took an *-s*: cf. § 96; § 101, (1). Some southeastern dialects preserved the *-i* of *noŕtri*: cf. § 51, 1. Beside *voŕtra* we occasionally meet *voŕtri*, due to the analogy of feminine *mi*, *ti*, *si*.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON		
Sg. {	<i>nom.</i> : noŕtre-s	noŕtra	voŕtre-s voŕtra voŕtri	loŕ lür	loŕ lür
	<i>obj.</i> : noŕtre	noŕtra	voŕtre voŕtra voŕtri	loŕ lür	loŕ lür
Pl. {	<i>nom.</i> : noŕtre noŕtri noŕtras	voŕtre	voŕtras	loŕ lür	loŕ lür
	<i>obj.</i> : noŕtres	noŕtras	voŕtres voŕtras	loŕ lür	loŕ lür

These forms are used adjectively or substantively, with or without the definite article.

1. In later times *lor* came to be inflected like a one-gender adjective: § 103, (2).

DEMONSTRATIVES.

130. Latin *idem* went out of use. Latin *is* was preserved only in the phrase *id ipsum* (*ad id ipsum* > *adeŕs*), and in the combination *eccum*, in which it ceased to be recognized, so that *eccu'* was regarded as a synonym of *ecce*.

131. (1) The demonstrative particles *ecce* and *eccu'* were often prefixed to pronouns in Vulgar Latin. Being thus proclitically used, they frequently lost their first syllable (§ 19); sometimes, however, under the influence of *ac* (as in *ac sic* > *aissi*), they preserved it, assuming the vowel of *ac*: *ecce illa* > *aicela*, *eccu' ista* > *aquesta*; cf. § 43, (2).

(2) The suffix *-met* was used in Vulgar Latin as an intensive prefix. Its change of place was probably due to such phrases as *sēmet ipsum*, understood as *sē metipsum*. The *-t*, before a vowel, regularly gives *-d-* (*met-īpsum* > *medeŕs*); but we find, besides, *-z-* (< Lat. *d'*), introduced perhaps through the analogy of *id* in *id ipsum* (**medīpsum* > *mezeis*); and also

-t- (< Lat. *tt*), which may be the result of a combination of *met-* and *id-* (*met-id-ipsu* > **metdīpsu* > *meteis*).

132. The pronouns preserved, either in their simple form or combined with a prefix, are the following: —

(1) Of *hīc* only the neuter, *hōc*, was kept. *Hōc* > *o*; *ecce hōc* > *aīçø aisso*, and *çø sø*; *eccu' hōc* > *aquø açø*. All of these are invariable.

(2) *Ipsē* appears as *eps ep̄sa*, *eus eussa*, *eis eissa* (with a m. pl. *eisses* and a neuter *eis*); the last forms are the commonest; for the development of the *ps*, see § 79 and § 80, Ps. *Met-ipse* gives (medips) *medes*, (meteish) *meteis*, and, more commonly, *mezeis* (f. *mezeissa*, neuter *mezeis*); see § 131, (2). **Met-ipsimus* becomes *medesme-s*, *mesesme-s*, *meesme-s* (§ 65, D), with feminine forms in -a. Unaccented *ipsum* is probably one source of the neuter *sø*: cf. § 132, (1). For the article (*so*, *sa*), see § 119.

(3) *Ille*, uncombined, developed into an article (§ 118) and a personal pronoun (§§ 123, 125), but went out of use as a demonstrative. Combined with *ecce* and *eccu'* it gave: *aicel aissel*, *çel*, *sel*; *aquel*. *Echel* (pronounced *ekeļ*?) seems to come from *eccu' ille* with its original initial vowel preserved. *Ipsē ille* perhaps gave rise also to a *sel*, which ultimately coincided with the form coming from *ecce ille*. There is a neuter *aicelo*, perhaps *aicel* + *o*. *Çel* will illustrate the inflection of all these words; the forms are to be explained like those of the disjunctive personal pronoun (§ 125): —

	MASCULINE				FEMININE					
Sg. {	<i>nom.</i> : çel	çeu	çelh	çels ¹	cellüi	çela	çelha	cil	cilh	cilha ²
	<i>obj.</i> : çel	çeu	çelh	cellüi		çela	çelha	çelēi	çelēis	celiēis

¹ *Cels* shows the influence of masculine nouns and adjectives.

² *Aquel* has also *aquilli*. *Cilha* is evidently a combination of *cilh* and *celha*.

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : cil cilh çelh çels ¹	çelas çelhas
	{ <i>obj.</i> : çels çelhs ²	çelas çelhas

(4) *Iste* gave *est, estz, esta, estas*. *Ecce iste* became *aicest* (not common) and *çest sest*; *eccu' iste* became *aquest echest*, and *chest*. *Aquest* will illustrate the inflection; the forms are to be explained like those of *çel*: —

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>aquest</i>	<i>aquesta aquist aquisti</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>aquest</i>	<i>aquesta</i>
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>aquist aquisti</i>	<i>aquestas</i>
	{ <i>obj.</i> : <i>aquestz aquetz</i>	<i>aquestas</i>

INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

133. The interrogative and relative pronouns were confused and combined in Vulgar Latin, *quī* taking the place of *quis*, and *quīd* gradually encroaching on *quōd*. Furthermore, the masculine forms were used instead of the feminine, which disappeared. We have in Provençal no evidence of the survival of any other cases than the nominative, dative, and accusative singular and the nominative plural: —

	MASCULINE AND FEMININE	NEUTER
Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : <i>quī</i> > <i>qui</i>	<i>quīd</i> > <i>que</i> , (<i>before vowel</i>) <i>quez</i>
	{ <i>dat.</i> : <i>cūī</i> > <i>cūi</i>	<i>cūī</i> > <i>cūi</i>
	{ <i>acc.</i> : <i>quēm</i> > <i>que</i>	<i>quīd</i> > <i>que</i> , (<i>before vowel</i>) <i>quez</i>
Pl.,	<i>nom.</i> : <i>quī</i> > <i>qui</i>	<i>quæ</i> > <i>que</i>

The distinction between *que* < *quēm*, *que* *quez* < *quīd*, and *que* < *quæ* could not be maintained; we have, then, simply three forms: a nom. sg. or pl. *qui*, a nom.-acc. sg. or pl. *que* (*quez*), a dat. sg. or pl. *cūi* (sometimes written *quī*).

¹ *Aquel* has also *aqueli*.

² *Aquel* has also *aquelz* and *aquelses*.

134. We have also *qualis*, which came to be inflected like *zeçels*: see § 103, (2); the feminine singular, however, often dropped its -s, and sometimes took the ending -a (*cal*, *cala*). *Quīnam* apparently became *quina*, which, understood as a feminine form, developed a masculine, *quin*. There seems to have been also a **quīnam* (cf. *quōniam?*), which gave *quinh*, *quina*. Cf. D. Behrens in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XVII, ii, 67-8, footnote. The phrase *de ūnde* became *đont*, *đon*, which was often used with the meaning 'of which', 'of whom'.

135. (1) In Provençal the interrogative pronouns are: *qui*, 'who' or 'whom'; *que quez*, 'what'; *cūi*, 'to whom' or 'whom', 'to what' or 'what' (obj.); *cals* (either alone or preceded by the definite article, inflected as in § 134), 'which'; *quin quinh*, *quina quinha*, 'which'. *Cals* is used also as an adjective.

(2) The relative pronouns are: *qui*, 'one who', indefinite (used also, in early texts and in southwestern Languedoc, as the regular relative pronoun for persons); *que quez*, 'who' or 'whom', 'which'; *cūi*, 'whom', 'which' (generally used as indirect object of a verb, or after a preposition); *lo cals* (inflected as in § 134), 'who' ('whom'), 'which'; *don dont*, 'of which', 'of whom'.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

136. The following words call for special mention: —

(1) *Alcüs* < **aliqu* *ūnus* = *aliquī ūnus*, 'someone'. Inflection: *alcüs*, *alcü(n)*; *alcüna*.

(2) *Alquant* < *aliquantum*, *aliquanti*, 'somewhat', 'some'; diminutive, *alquantet*.

(3) *Alques* *alque* < *aliquid*, used as an invariable neuter

pronoun or adverb, 'something', 'somewhat'. The -s form, which originally developed before a vowel, was preferred because of the analogy of other neuter pronouns and adverbs. The preservation of the e is due to association with *quez que*. *Alque* was sometimes used as an adjective.

(4) **Als al au**, used as an invariable neuter pronoun, 'something else'. *Al (au)* may have been detached from *alques*, understood as *al ques*. Meyer-Lübke, however, takes it, as well as Old French *el*, from **alum* = *aliud*: *Gram.*, II, p. 649. *Als* owes its -s to the analogy of other neuter pronouns, such as *alques*, *eis*, *mais*, *mêhs*, *mêns*, *peis*, etc.

(5) **Altre autre** < *alter*, 'other', pronoun and adjective. A dative **altrūi*, following *illūi*, goes back to Vulgar Latin. The Provençal forms *autrūs*, *autrū* show the influence of *alcūs* and *negūs*; *autri* belongs to the southeastern dialects (cf. *aqueli*, *eli*, *noŕstri*, *tüti*, etc.). Inflection:—

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
Sg.	{ <i>nom.</i> : autre autres <i>autrūs</i>	autra
	{ <i>obj.</i> : autre <i>autrūi</i> <i>autrū</i>	autra
Pl.	{ <i>nom.</i> : autre <i>autri</i>	autras
	{ <i>obj.</i> : autres	autras

(6) **Altretals autretals** < *alter talis*; by dissimilation, **atretals**: by substitution of *ai-* (first syllable of *aissi* < *ac sic*) for *atre-*, **aitals**; by fusion of *aitals* and *atretals*, **aitretals**; through analogy of *atressi*, **atrestals**. Cf. § 74, 2. Inflection like that of *cals* (§ 134).

(7) **Altretan atretan aitan atrestan** etc. < *alter + tantum*: see **altretals**.

(8) **Cada un** < *κατά + ūnum*, 'every one'. The Greek preposition *κατά* was introduced into the Latin territory, probably by Greek merchants, in stating prices: *καθ' ἕνα* = *cata ūnum*,

κατὰ τρεῖς = *cata trēs*; hence *cada ün*, *cada treï*. Inflection: *cada üs*, *cada ü(n)*; *cada üna*.

(9) **Calacom qualacom qualaquom**, 'something', 'a little', seems to be a Provençal compound of *cal* and *aco* (§ 132), the last syllable of which was perhaps understood as *com ço* < *quōmō(do)*. Cf. **quezacom** below. There is a diminutive **calacomet**, which helped to maintain the *m* of *calacom*.

(10) **Cals que quals que, cal que qual que**, 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(11) **Cant quant can quan** < *quantum quanti*, 'how much', 'how many'. *Cant*, inflected like *beł* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(12) **Cascüs chascüs**, 'everyone', 'every', appears to be a fusion of *cada üs* and **cescüs* < **cisqu' ünus* = *quīsque ünus* = *ünus quīsque*. Inflection: *cascüs*, *cascü(n)*; *cascüna*.

(13) **Ent en n ne** < *inde*, 'some': cf. § 123.

(14) **Maint mant man manh** < Celtic **mantî*, 'many', 'many a', 'many a one'. Obj. pl. in *-s*, f. sg. in *-a*, f. pl. in *-as*.

(15) **Molt mout mot mul mon** < *mūltum*, 'much'. For *mot*, *mul*, *mōn*, see § 74, (2) and § 74, 1. *Molt*, inflected like *beł* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(16) **Negüs** < *nēc ünus*, 'no one'. Inflection: *negüs*, *negü(n)*; *negüna*. Beside *negün* we find **degün**, apparently through dissimilation.

(17) **Nüls** < *nūllus*, 'no', 'none'. Inflection: *nüls*, *nül*, *nül nülh*, *nüls*; *nüla*, *nülas*. From **nülh** < *nūllî* comes a set of forms with *lh*: see § 67, (2). Hence, by metathesis suggested by the analogy of *negün*, **lhün**. A fusion of *nülh* and *lhün* results in **lünh**, whence a set of forms with *nh*.

(18) **Om** < *hōmo*, 'one'.

(19) **Pauc** < *paucum*, *pauci*, 'little', 'few'. There is also a regular adjective, *paucs*, 'small'.

(20) **Que que**, 'whatever', is a Provençal compound.

(21) **Quecs** < *quīsquis* (§ 78, 2), 'everyone'. From *quecs* were formed an objective *queç* and a feminine *queça* (cf. *amics amic. amiga*).

(22) **Quesacom** (diminutive *quesacomet*), 'something', 'a little', is formed like *calaçom* above, the first element in this case being either *queç* < *quid* or *que s* = *que es*.

(23) **Qui que**, 'whoever', is a Provençal compound.

(24) **Res re**, 'anything', 'something'.

(25) **Tals** < *talīs*, 'such', inflected like *cal*s (§ 134).

(26) **Tamanh** < *tam magnum*, 'so great'; f. *tamanha*.

(27) **Tant tan ta** < *tantum*, *tanti*, 'so much', 'so many'. *Tant*, inflected like *beł* (§ 103), is used also as an adjective and as a masculine and feminine pronoun.

(28) **Totz** < *tōttus* = *tōtus* (*Gram.*, I, § 547), 'all', had a regular inflection: *totz*, *tot*, *tot*, *totz*; *toça*, *toças*. In the masculine nominative plural, however, we find oftener the forms *tüch tüich tüit tüt tüti*, which point to a Latin **tūctī* (cf. Italian *tutti*); for this no satisfactory explanation has been discovered (see Nigra, *Rom.*, XXXI, 525). Hence we occasionally have in the singular *tütz*, *tüt*, and in the objective plural *tügz tütz*; the last form occurs also as a nominative plural. *Tot* is frequently used as a neuter pronoun and as an adverb.

(29) **Üs**, 'some'; from *ünus*, used as an indefinite adjective or pronoun, we have the plural forms: *ü(n)*, *ü(n)s*; *ünas*.

2. CONJUGATION.

THE FOUR CONJUGATIONS.

137. (1) In Vulgar Latin there were some shifts, the verbs of the second and third conjugations being particularly unstable: *cadĕre*, *capĕre*, *sapĕre*, for instance, often passed into the second, while *mōvēre*, *rīdĕre* frequently followed the third, and *mōri*, *sĕqui* usually went into the fourth. *Pōsse*, *vĕlle*, with the new infinitives **potĕre*, **volĕre*, were made to conform with more or less regularity to the second conjugation type. Beside *do*, *dant*, *sto*, *stant*, there came into use the forms **dao*, **daunt*, **stao*, **staunt*. Beside *facĕre* there doubtless existed a verb **fare*,¹ strongly influenced by *dare* and *stare*; the first suggestion of shortening probably came from the monosyllabic imperative singular *fac* (or *fa*²), which must have led to a plural **fate* beside *facite*. *Habĕre* and *vadĕre*² also came under the influence of *dare* and *stare*; the former adopted, beside *habeo*, *habes*, *habet*, *habent*, the forms **ho*, **has*, **hat*, **hant* or **haunt*. *Vadĕre* generally lost its past tenses, which were replaced by *īre* and, in southern Gaul, by *annare*.³

(2) In Provençal the first conjugation was well preserved, and the fourth lost but little. The second and the third lost many verbs (especially learned words) to the fourth: *delir*, *emplir*, *envazir*, *espanzir*, *fugir*, *iauzir*, *merir*, *regir*, *relinquir*, *reluzir*, *vertir*;⁴ *çozer* *coziz* < *consuĕre*,⁵ *devire* *devezir* < *divīdĕre*, *dire* *dir* < *dīcĕre*, *leire* *legir* (also *lire* *lir*) < *lĕgĕre*, *querre* *querir* < *quĕrĕre*, *segre* *seguir* < *sĕqui*, *tenĕr* *tenir*⁶ < *tenĕre*. More-

¹ See G. Rydberg, *Le développement de facere dans les langues romanes*, 1893.

² See A. Zimmermann in *Zs.*, XXV, 735.

³ See C. C. Rice in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 217.

⁴ Cf. §138.

⁵ Cf. §72, Sw.

⁶ According to Raimon Vidal, a 13th century grammarian, *tenir* is French.

over, the second and third conjugations, which in Provençal differed practically only in the infinitive, were much confused: *caber*, *cazer*, *mordre*, *rire*, *saber*; *corre* *accorre*, *mentaver* *mentaure* < *mente habere*, *mover* *moure*, *querre* *querer*, *redebre* *rezemer* < *redimere*. Uc Faidit, a 13th century grammarian, enumerates about 500 verbs in -ar, about 100 in -er and -re, and a little over 100 in -ir.

138. The inchoative ending -*scere* lost its original sense. The -*isc-* type, for verbs of the fourth conjugation, was very widely extended, the -*isc-* becoming a part of the regular present stem of the fourth conjugation, and disappearing from the infinitive: *finire*, **finisco* > *finir*, *finisc*. The Latin -*esc-* type, combining with -*ire* (*dis-pigrēscere* > *despereissir*, *evanēscere* > *envanezir*¹), produced an ending -*eissir* -*ezir* -*zir*, which was used in forming some new verbs: *enfolezir*² < *foł*, *envelhezir* < *velh*, *envelzir* < *vil*, *esclarzir* < *clar*, *escürzir* < *escür oscür*, *espaorzir* < *paor*. The -*asc-* and -*osc-* types appear only in such old verbs as *irāscere* > *irāissir*, *co(g)nōscere* > *conōissir*.³

139. New verbs were formed, in late Vulgar Latin and in Provençal, only in the first and fourth conjugations. The commonest suffixes were -*are*, -*iāre*, -*icāre*, *idiāre* (< *ŷev*: § 57, Z), -*ire*: **oblitāre* > *oblidar*, **altiāre* > *aussar*, **carricāre* > *cargar*, **werridiāre* > *guerreiar*, **abbellire* > *abelir*. Germanic verbs generally went into the first conjugation, except those in -*jan*, most of which entered the fourth: *roubōn* > *raubar* (also *raubir*), *wītan* > *guidar*; *furbjan* > *forbir*, *raustjan* > *raustir*.

¹ *Esvanuir* seems to come from the perfect, *evanuī*.

² *Enfolhetir* shows the influence of *follet*.

³ See K. Sittl in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, I, 465

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN INFLECTION.

140. The Latin perfect passive took the sense of a present; *amātus est*, for instance, under the influence of such phrases as *carus est*, came to mean 'he *is* loved'. This led to the establishment of an entire passive inflection made up of the perfect participle and the parts of the verb *ēsse*; and the old passive forms were gradually abandoned, leaving no trace (save the perfect participle and possibly the gerundive) in the Romance languages. So the passive is constructed in Provençal as in French: *es amatz*, *era amatz*, *fo amatz*, *será amatz*, etc.; the participle regularly agrees with the subject in gender and number. Latin deponent verbs became active: *mōri* > *morir*, *sēqui* > *seguir*.

141. (1) Such phrases as *id habeo factum* shifted their meaning from 'I have it done', etc., to 'I have done it', etc. The Latin perfect came to be restricted to its aorist sense, and the perfect was expressed by compounds of *habere* with the perfect participle. In the Romance languages all compound tenses were eventually formed in this way: *ai cantat*, *avia cantat*, *aurai cantat*, etc. In Provençal the auxiliary is sometimes *esser*, instead of *aver*, if the main verb is reflexive, passive, or neuter; *esser* is particularly common with neuter verbs of motion: *soi vengütz*.¹ A participle used with *aver* may agree in gender and number with the direct object, if there is one: *ai cantat or cantada la canso*.

(2) The Latin perfect indicative continued to be used as an aorist, and is the source of the preterit in Provençal, as in

¹For *ai estat* we sometimes find *soi agutz*. The confusion arises perhaps from the use of both *es* and *a* in the sense of 'there is': hence *es estat* = *a agutz*; and by a mixture of the two, *es agutz*. Cf. L. Gauchat, *Sono avuto*, in *Scritti vari di filologia* (dedicated to E. Monaci), 1901, p. 61.

the other Romance languages: *vīdī* > *vi*, 'I saw'. The pluperfect indicative survived in some regions; in Provençal it is used with the sense of a conditional: *fūċerat* > *ċora*, 'he would be'. The future perfect indicative and the perfect subjunctive did not remain in Provençal: *amavċero* = *aurai amat*, *amavċirim* = *aia amat*. The pluperfect subjunctive assumed the functions of the imperfect, which disappeared from nearly every part of the Romance territory: *audċissem* (for *audċirem*) > *auzis*. The perfect infinitive left no trace: *audċisse* = *aver auzit*.

142. The Latin future, which was not uniform in the four conjugations, and, in the third and fourth, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive, was gradually replaced by various periphrastic constructions: instead of *faciam* people said *factūrus sum*, *dċbeo facċere*, *vōlo facċere*, *habeo (ad) facċere*, etc. The construction that prevailed in the greater part of the Empire was *facċere habeo*, a combination of the infinitive with the present indicative of *habċere*. The verb *ċsse* was the only one that ultimately retained the old future beside the new: Pr. *ċr*, *ċrs*, *ċr*, beside *serái serás será*; in the plural, only *serċm*, *serċtz*, *serán*. The new composite future was occasionally used by Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, and became common in Italy by the 6th century.¹

(2) As an imperfect of the future, there was evolved a combination of the infinitive and the imperfect or perfect indicative. To correspond to *dċcit quod venċire habet*, was constructed *dċxit quōd venċire habċbat* (or *habuit*); to match *sċ pōssum, venċire habeo*, was made *sċ potuċssem, venċire habċbam* (or *habuċi*). In Gaul, as in most of the Empire, only the imperfect of *habċere* was used for this purpose. Traces of such

¹ Cf. P. Thielmann, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, II, 48 and 157.

a construction are found as early as the 3d century. This form is generally called the *conditional*, and it existed in Provençal side by side with the conditional described in §141, (2): *sería, serías, sería*, etc., beside *fora, foras, fora*, etc. The Romance languages developed also a perfect conditional: *auría agüt* = 'I should have had'.

143. (1) The present participle remained in use as an adjective: *fīlias placentes* > *filhas plazens*; cf. § 101, (3). In its verbal function it was replaced by the ablative of the gerund: *vēnit accurrens* > *vēnit accurrendo* > *ven acorren*. In most Provençal dialects, however, the present participle and the gerund coincided in form (*amantem* and *amando* both > *amán*), the gerund being distinguished from the participle only by its lack of inflection: see § 76, (2).

(2) The gerund retained only the ablative case, the use of which was considerably extended: see above. In its other cases it was replaced by the infinitive: *artem dicendi* > *artem dicere* > *art de dire*. The supine, too, was replaced by the infinitive: *vīsum vēnit nōs* > *vēnit nōs videre* > *ven noş* (a) *vezer*.

INFINITIVE, PRESENT PARTICIPLE, AND GERUND.

144. The infinitive endings *-āre, -ēre, -īre* regularly became *-ar, -er, -ir*; *-ēre* became *-re* or *-er*: see § 48, (1) and § 52, (1). Ex.: *amāre* > *amár*, *videre* > *vezer*, *audire* > *auzir*; *tōllere* > *tołre*, *nascere* > *náisser*, *dicere* > *dire dízer*. For shifts of conjugation, see § 137.

1. The fourth conjugation verbs *enantir, gauzir, grazir, murir, servir* sometimes took a final *e* by the analogy of *devire* (< *dividere*), *dire, rive*. On the other hand, *dire* occasionally lost its *-e* by the analogy of the fourth conjugation. *Lire* for *leire* (< *leggere*) is probably French, and *lir* is to be explained like *dir*.

2. *Far* beside *faire* doubtless comes from **fare* = *facĕre*: see § 137, (1). *Trar* beside *traire* (< **tragĕre*) follows *far*.

3. *Escruiure* (< *scribĕre*) sometimes became *escrire* through the analogy of *dire*.

4. Some verbs that passed from the second to the third conjugation preserved the old infinitive as a noun: *debĕre* > *deure devĕr*, *placĕre* > *plaire plazĕr*.

145. The endings *-antem -ando*, *-ĕntem -ĕndo* regularly became *-an* or *-ant*, *-en* or *-ent*: § 76, (2). See § 143, (1). The endings *-iĕntem -iĕndo* lost their *i* in Vulgar Latin (§ 40, 1), and were thus reduced to *-entem -endo*. Ex.: *amantem amando* > *amán* (or *amánt*), *vidĕntem vidĕndo* > *vezén* (or *vezént*), *credĕntem credĕndo* > *crezén* (or *crezént*); *sapiĕntem sapiĕndo* > **sapĕntem* **sapĕndo* > *sabén* (or *sabént*), *partiĕntem partiĕndo* > **partentem* **partendo* > *partén* (or *partént*). Fourth conjugation verbs which adopted the inchoative *-sc-* (§ 138), generally introduced it into the present participle and the gerund: *florir*, *florissen*. Cf. § 155. For the declension of the present participle, see § 101, (3).

PAST PARTICIPLE.

146. The Provençal past participle comes from the Latin perfect participle. It is to be noted that verbs which originally had no perfect participle were obliged to create one in order to form their compound tenses: see § 141, (1). Past participles in Provençal, when inflected, were declined like *bel*: §§ 102; 102, 1; 103, (1). See § 141, (1).

147. In the first and fourth conjugations the endings were *-ātum* and *-ītum*, which regularly became *-āt* and *-it*: *cantātum* > *cantát*, *finītum* > *fenít*. The first conjugation verbs which had a form in *-ītum* discarded it for *-ātum*: *crepāre* *crepītum* = *crebár* *crebát*. On the other hand, *aperīre* and

operire preserved their participle in *-ertum*: *cubrir* (< *cooperire*), *cubrert* (also *cubrirt*); *ubrir* (< *aperire* + *cooperire*), *ubrert*. By the analogy of these, *sufrir* (< *sufferre*) and *ufrir* (< *offerre*) have *sufert* (also *sufirt*), *ufert*. *Tener tenir* keeps its Provençal second conjugation ending, *tengüt* (see § 148); and *venir*, following the analogy of *tenir*, has *vengüt*.

148. (1) Most Latin verbs of the second and third conjugations had no accented ending, but a few had an ending *-ütum*, which corresponded very well to the *-atum* and *-itum* of the first and fourth: *arguere, argütum*; *consuere, consütum*; *sequi, secütum*; *solvère, solütum*; *volvère, volütum*. This ending was considerably extended in Vulgar Latin, especially to verbs having a perfect in *-üi*: *habere, habüi, habitum *habütum*. In Provençal it spread still further: *cazer, cazeç, cazeгүй*. Inasmuch as it was closely associated with the perfect, it came to be attached, more and more frequently, to the stem of that tense.

(2) Of the Provençal verbs of the second and third conjugations, about half adopted the ending *-üt*. In some the *-üt* is added to the stem of the infinitive: *crezüt, defendüt, escondüt, molüt, perdüt, resemüt, respondüt, rompüt, vendüt, vezüt veüt*. Most of the verbs, however, attach the *-üt* to the stem of the preterit; *nasc, nascüt*; *pasc, pascüt*; *tems, temsüt*; *tesc, tescüt*; *venc, vencüt* (from *venser*); *visc, viscüt*. A few have both forms: *agüt avüt*; *cazegüt cazüt*; *vengüt venüt*. It is to be noted, in the case of verbs that add *-üt* to the preterit, that if the third person singular of the preterit ends in a voiceless consonant preceded by a vowel or *l* or *n*, that consonant is voiced in the participle: *ac, agüt*; *bec, begüt*; *cazeç, cazegüt*; *conoç, conogüt*; *creç, cregüt*; *deç, degüt*; *eleş, eleгүй*; *moc, mogüt*; *noç, nogüt*; *plac, plagüt*; *ploc, plogüt*; *poc, pogüt*; *remas, remazüt*; *saup, saubüt*; *seç, següt*; *tenç, ten-*

güt; t̄olc, tolgüt; valc, valgüt; v̄enc, vengüt (from venir); v̄olc, volgüt. Exceptions are ceupüt, saupüt (beside saubüt), and v̄encüt (from v̄enser): for ceupüt, saupüt, cf. § 65, P, 3; in v̄encüt the c was perhaps kept to distinguish the word from vengüt (venir).

(3) The other half of the second and third conjugation verbs generally preserved the old participle with no accented ending: ars, çeing, claus, dich, düit, estreit, fach, ioinch, meş, oñh, p̄ost, p̄eş, trach, etc. Some of these have also forms in -üt: defes defendüt, elig esleit elegüt, escos escondüt, moüt molüt, nat nascüt, remas remazüt, r̄ot rompüt, vis vezüt. A few verbs made up new forms without a stressed ending: conq̄erre, conq̄es conquis; redemer rezemer, redems (rezemüt); s̄orger, s̄ors; t̄olre, t̄olt t̄out; vezer, vist (vis vezüt veüt); v̄olvre, v̄out. *Mittère* probably had beside *m̄issum* a form **m̄isum* (cf. *m̄is̄i*); hence meüre, meş mis. By the analogy of this, prendre has beside p̄eş a form pris. Estre borrowed estat from *estar* < *stare*. Escript, from escriure, is probably influenced by the infinitive; esrich follows dich. So, probably, does elig = esleit, from elegir eslire eslir.

1. For soï agütz (= ai estat), which is found not only in some Provençal dialects, but also in southeastern France, French Switzerland, and parts of northern Italy, see § 141, (1), footnote 1.

FUTURE AND NEW CONDITIONAL.

149. For the formation of these parts, see § 142, (1), (2). Ex.: amarái, creisserái, florirái. Verbs of the second conjugation regularly, and verbs of the fourth very often, syncopate the e or i of the infinitive: remanrái, volrás; partrái, venría. Third conjugation infinitives with final e drop this e before the ending; those in -er keep the e: v̄endre, vendrái; náisser, naisserái. First conjugation infinitives regularly keep the a

(§ 45), but in a few texts (especially the *Girart* and the *Rasos de trobar*) the *a* is changed to *e*: cantarái, sonaríá, trobarem; blasmerán, comterá.

1. *Esser* keeps the old future forms *er, ers, er*, beside *serái, serás, será* (*serém, serétz, serán*).

150. For the phonetic changes exemplified in *auría, deurái, mourá; plairía; cairá, veirái; valdrái; remandrém, tendría; poiría*, see § 70, *βr, C'r, Dr, Lr, Nr, Tr*. *Anar* (<*annāre*) has beside *anarái* a form *irái* from *ir* (<*īre*). *Esser* drops its first syllable (*serái*), perhaps through elision (*tu 'sserás*, etc.), perhaps in accordance with the general principle stated in § 19. *Faire far* always makes its future and conditional from the latter form (*farái*). *Saber* has beside *sabrái* a form *sau-brái*, due no doubt to the combined influence of *aurái* and the preterit *saup* < *sapuit*. *Vezer*, following the analogy of *beurái, deurái, viurái*, has *veurái* beside the regular *veirái*.

151. The composite nature of the future and conditional was still sufficiently felt, in the literary period, to admit of the separation of the component parts: *amar vos aí, dar n'etz, donar lo t'ái, tornar nos em, tornar s'en ía*.

FUTURE ENDINGS.

152. For the 1st pers. sg., the Provençal verb used the form **ayo* > *ai* (§ 73, *βy*); for the 2d and 3d pers. sg. and the 3d pers. pl., the forms **has* > *as*, **hat* > *a* (§ 82, T), **hant* **haunt* > *an aun* (§ 83, Nt): see § 137, (1). In the 1st and 2d pers. pl., *habēmu'* (§ 82, S, 2), *habētis* naturally gave *avem, avetz* (§ 64); but inasmuch as the other four terminations were monosyllabic, the *av-* was dropped when *avem, avetz* came to be understood merely as future endings. The future is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar-ái	cantar-əm
cantar-ás	cantar-ętz, -ęs, -ęt
cantar-á	cantar-án, -ánt, -áun, -áu

1. In Gascony and Languedoc we find -ęi for -ai: see §§23, 2; 162, (4). In Gascon and in the modern dialects of some other regions -am is used for ęm. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, -ęm becomes -ęn: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

CONDITIONAL ENDINGS.

153. *Habēbam* > aβęβa > (probably through dissimilation: § 87, β) aβęa > avía (§ 26); so avías, avía, aviám, aviátz, avían. But inasmuch as the conditional was formed in imitation of the future, and none of the future forms retained the av-, the conditional endings were reduced to -ía, -ías, -ía, -iám, -iátz, -ían. Some dialects, which substituted -on for -an, introduced -íon into the conditional: § 169. The conditional is, therefore, inflected as follows:—

cantar-ía	cantar-iám
cantar-ías	cantar-iátz, -iás, -iát
cantar-ía	cantar-ían, -íon, -ío

1. In verse these endings are sometimes counted as monosyllabic: poiriâ. Guiraut Riquier uses -iátz for -iátz. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, -iám becomes -ián: cf. § 65, M, 1; also § 167, 2.

PRESENT.

154. The personal endings will be discussed separately in §§ 164-169.

155. The Provençal present indicative and subjunctive come, in the main, directly from the corresponding parts of the Latin verb:—

<i>amo</i> > am	<i>amāmu'</i> > amám	<i>faciam</i> > fassa	<i>faciāmu'</i> > fassám
<i>amas</i> > amas	<i>amātis</i> > amátz	<i>facias</i> > fassas	<i>faciātis</i> > fassátz
<i>amat</i> > ama	<i>amant</i> > áman	<i>faciat</i> > fassa	<i>faciant</i> > fássan

In the 4th conjugation, however, most verbs have adopted the originally inchoative *-sc-* (§ 138) and incorporated it into the inflection of the present, except in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the indicative:—

<i>florisco</i>	> florisc	<i>florēmu'</i>	> florem ¹
<i>floriscis</i>	> florís florisses	<i>florētis</i>	> floretz ¹
<i>floriscit</i>	> florís	<i>floriscunt</i>	> floriskon
<i>floriscam</i>	> florísca	<i>floriscāmu'</i>	> floriscám
<i>floriscas</i>	> floríscas	<i>floriscātis</i>	> floriscátz
<i>floriscat</i>	> florísca	<i>floriscant</i>	> floriscan

We occasionally find such forms as *florissēm*, *florissētz*, and *florám*, *florátz*.

1. The *s* coming from *sc'* was of course originally palatal; it is sometimes written *sh*. The *sc* of the 1st pers. sg., the 3d pers. pl., and the whole pres. subjunctive was replaced, in some dialects, by *s* or *sh*: *floris* *florish*, *florisson* *florishon*, *florissa* *florisha*.

156. Of the Latin imperative forms, only the present active, 2d pers. sg. and pl., remained in use. The Provençal verb kept the sg., but substituted for the pl. the 2d pers. pl. of the present indicative:—

<i>ama</i>	> ama	<i>tēne</i>	> ten	<i>crēde</i>	> cre
<i>amāte amātis</i>	> amátz	<i>tenēte tenētis</i>	> tenetz	<i>crēdīte *crēdītis</i> ²	> crezetz
<i>partī</i>	> part	<i>finisce</i>	> finís		
<i>partīte partītis</i>	> partetz ²	<i>finīte finītis</i>	> finetz ²		

In negative commands the present subjunctive is generally used instead of the plural imperative, and sometimes the infinitive is employed instead of sg. or pl. The verbs *auzir*, *aver*, *dire*, *esser*, *saber*, *vezer*, *voler* regularly took their imperative forms from the present subjunctive: *áuias*, *digátz*, *veiátz*, etc.

¹ For the accented vowels in these forms, see §§ 167, 168.

² See § 168.

1 *Fait* < *facite* (beside *faitz*) seems to come directly from the Latin form.

2. Before *vos* the pl. drops final *-tz* (or *-t?*): *departe vos, vene vos. Ve vos* becomes *veus*; a fusion of *ve vos* and *ec* < *eccum* results in *vevos*.

DOUBLE STEMS.

157. Differences in accentuation and in the environment of vowels or consonants regularly developed different stems in different parts of some verbs. For instance, *adjūtāre* > *aidar* (§ 45), while *adjūtāt* > *aiüda*.

158. Sometimes, as above, an intertonic vowel disappeared: *mándūcāre* > *maniar*, *mandūco* > **mandüc manüc*; **parabolāre* **pāraulāre* > *parlar*, **parabōlat* **pāraulāt* > *paraula*. In such cases the shortened stem usually prevailed: *mania*, *parla*. But in *adjutare* the longer one was preferred: *aiüdar*.

159. (1) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may be unstressed, and therefore remain unbroken, in another part: *probāre* > *proar*, *prōbat* > *prueva*,³ **sequire* > *seguir*, **sēquit* > *sięc*.⁴ In such cases the phonetic development is generally undisturbed.

(2) A vowel which breaks in one part of a verb may, with different environment, remain unbroken even in another part in which it is stressed: **volēre* > *voler*, **vōleo* > *vuelh*, **vōlet* > *vøl*. If the breaking occurs in the 1st pers. sg., the phonetic development is regularly undisturbed; if it occurs in the 2d and 3d pers. sg., it is generally carried into the other forms in which the vowel is stressed: *cōlligit* > *cuelh*, hence *cuelh* = *colligo*; *ēxit* > *ięis*, hence *ięsc*, *ięscon*, *ięsca*.

160. A consonant may be followed by *ę* or *i*, and so pala-

³ See § 37.

⁴ See § 30.

talized, in one part of the verb, and not in another: **cadeo* > *chai*, **cadēmu'* > *chazem*; *dēbeo* > *dēch deï* (§ 73, βy), *dēbet* > *dēu*; *faciat* > *fassa*, *facēre* > *faire*; *fūgio* > *fūii*, *fugēre* > *fugir*; *jaceam* > *iassa*, *jacēre* > *iazēr*¹; *placeāmu'* > *plassám*, *placēmu'* > *plazem*; *sapīam* > *sapcha*, *sapīt* > *sap*; *tēneo* > *tenh*, *tēnet* > *ten*; *valeo* > *valh*, *vales* > *vals*; *vēniat* > *venha*, *venīre* > *venir*; *vīdeam* > *veĩa*, *vidētis* > *vezetz*; **vōleo* > *vuelh*, **vōlet* > *vōl*. Verbs in *-eo* generally keep this distinction; but we find *mōva*, *somóna*, *tema* = *mōveam*, *submōneam*, *tīmeam*. Most verbs in *-io*, on the other hand, dropped the *i* in Vulgar Latin: *partio* **parto* > *part*, *partiunt* **partunt* > *parton*, *partiam* **partam* > *parta*; *sen*, *senton*, *senta*; *siērf*, *siērvon*, *siērva*; etc. A few verbs show forms both with and without the *e* or *i*: *audio* > *auch* (*audiam* > *auia*), **audio* > *au*; *crēdo* > *cre*, **crēdeo* > *crei*²; *video* > *vei*², **vīdo* > *ve*.

161. Verbs in *-ng-* naturally developed a palatal consonant before *e* or *i* (§ 73, Ng'), but not before other vowels: *cīngēre* > *çenher*, *cīngo* > *çenc*, *cīngit* > *çenh*, *cīngam* > *çenga*; so *fēnher*, *onher*, *plānher*, *ponher*, etc. The palatal was carried by analogy into the parts that were originally without it: hence the double forms *çenc çenh*, *çengon çenhon*, *çenga çenha*, etc. These double forms led *tēner*, *venir* to adopt *tenc*, *venc*, *tenga*, *venga*, beside the regular *tenh*, *venh*, *tenha*, *venha*. Such forms as these, supported by *dērc* < *de-ērigo*, *dic* < *dīco*, *preç* < *prēco*, *seç* < **sequo*, *trac* < **trago*, etc., afforded a starting-point for an ending *-c*, adopted by some other verbs in the 1st pers. sg. of the present indicative: *pērdo* < *pērt pērc*, *pr(eh)ēndo* > *pren prenc*, *remaneo* > *remanh remanc*, etc.

¹ Also, by analogy, *iassēr*.

² Raimon Vidal says that *crei*, *vei* are the proper forms for the 1st pers. sg. of the pres. indicative.

PECULIAR FORMS.

162. The following verbs have individual peculiarities that call for special mention:—

(1) **Anar** (< *annāre*), 'to go', takes most of its present from *vadère*: indicative, *vau vauc* (analogy of *estau estauc*), *vas, va vai* (analogy of *fai*), *anām, anátz, van vaun* (analogy of *estan estaun*); subjunctive, *an* or *vaza* (< *vadam*) *vaia* (analogy of *vai* and of *traia*), *vaga* (analogy of *traga*), etc.; imperative, *vai* (analogy of *fai*), *anátz*.

(2) **Aucire** (< *occidère*: § 43) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *auci* (< *occidit*) and *aucis* (analogy of *aucizém, aucizétz*). Cf. *auzir, caire, rire, traire, vezér*. These forms were doubtless helped by the analogy of *ditz* (< *dicit*), *dütz, fatz, iatz, letz* (< *licet*), *platz, tatz*.

(3) **Auzir** (< *audire*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *au* (< *audit*) and *aus* (analogy of *auzém, auzétz*). Cf. *aucire, caire, rire, traire, vezér*. See also § 160.

(4) **Aver** (< *habère*) has in the pres. indicative: *ai* (< *habeo*: § 73, βγ), *as, a, avém, avétz* (see §§ 167, 168), *an aun*; see § 137, (1). There is no trace of **ho*. Instead of *ai*, the dialects of Aude, Tarn, Tarn et Garonne, and Haute-Garonne have *ei* (cf. *Gram.*, II, p. 304), which probably developed first in the future (§ 152, 1) through the analogy of the preterit ending *-ei* which took the place of *-ai*: *amāvi *amai* > **amai amei* (§ 175), then *amarai* > *amarei*, then *ai* > *ei*. The pres. subjunctive is *aia* (< *habeam*: § 73, βγ). For the imperative, see § 156.

(5) **Caire cazér** (< *cadère *cadère*) has in the pres. indicative 3d sg. *ca* (< *cadit*) *cai* (analogy of *brai* < **bragit*, *fai, trai* < **tragit, vai*) *cas* (analogy of *cazém, cazétz*: cf. *aucire, auzir, rire, traire, vezér*).

(6) **Conóisser** (< *cognōscère*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg. *conosc* (< *cognōsco*) and *conóis* (analogy of 2d and 3d sg., *conóisses, conóis*).

(7) **Creire** (< *crēdère*): pres. subjunctive *creza* (< *crēdam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga, prega, sega, traga*). See also § 160.

(8) **Créisser** (< *crēscère*): pres. subjunctive *crezca* (< *crēscam*) and *crega* (analogy of *diga, prega, sega, traga*, and of the imperfect subjunctive *cregués*).

(9) **Dar** (< *dare*): *dau* (< **dao*), *daun* (< **daunt*); see § 137, (1).

(10) **Destruire** (< **destrügere = destrüère*): analogy of *agère, tégère*, etc. Cf. *traire*. **Destrügit* > *destrüi*.

(11) **Dever** (< *dēbēre*) has in the pres. indicative 1st sg., beside *dech dei* (§ 160), *dec* (analogy of *dīc*, *prec*, *sec*, *trac*, and perhaps of the preterit *dec*).

(12) **Dire** (< *dīcēre*): *dīc* (< *dīco*) *dīu* (cf. § 51, 3; § 65, G, 1); *dītz* (< *dīcīt*) *dī* (analogy of *fai*, *trai*, and of imperative *dī* < *dīc*); *dīzon* (analogy of *dītz*, *dizēm*, *dizétz*); *dīga dia* (both < *dīcam*: § 65, G). For the imperative, see § 156.

(13) **Düire** (< *dūcēre*): *dütz* (< *dūcīt*) *düi* (analogy of *destrüi*, *trai*).

(14) **Eissir** (< *exīre*): *iesc*, *iescon*, *iesca*, analogy of *conosc*, *florisc*, etc.; for vowel, see § 159, (2).

(15) **Ésser estre** (< **ēssēre* = *ēsse*). Pres. indicative: *sūm* > *son so* (§ 82, M), then, by the analogy of *ai* and *fūi*, *soi süi*; *ēs* became *ęst ięst*, perhaps through *ēs tu* > *ęs-t-u* > *ęst-tü*, supported by the analogy of the preterit ending of the 2d sg. (*vos vendętz*, *tü vendęst* or *vendięst*, so, to match *vos ętz*, a form *tü ęst* or *ięst*); *ęst* became *ęs*, probably through such combinations as *quę's* (understood as *qu'ęs*); *sīmu'*, which existed in Latin beside *sīmus* (*Rom.*, XXI, 347), gave *sem*, while from *ęstis* there was constructed an **ęsmus* > *ęsmes* (rare), and from *ętz* a form *em* (very common); *ęstis* > *ęstz ętz* (§ 78, 2); *sünt* > *son so* (§ 83, Nt). Pres. subjunctive: *sīm*, *sīs*, etc., were replaced in V. L. by **sīam*, **sīas*, etc. (on the analogy of *fīam*, *fīciam*, etc.), which gave *sīa sīas sīa sīám sīátz*, *sīan sīon*; we find also *seīa*, etc., formed apparently on *deīa*, *veīa*. Imperative borrowed from subjunctive.

(16) **Estar** (< *stare*). Pres. indicative: *estáu* (< **stao*) *estáuc* (§ 161); *estás* (< *stas*); *está* (< *stat*) *estái* (analogy of *fai*, *trai*); *estám* (< *stamu'*); *estátz* (< *statis*) *estáitz* (after *faitz*); *están* (< *stant*) *estáun* (< **stant*); see § 137, (1). Pres. subjunctive: *estía*, etc., *estéia*, etc., patterned on *sīa*, *seīa*; also *estéi*, perhaps a cross between *esteīa* and **esté* < *stem*. Imperative: *está*, *estáitz*.

(17) **Faire far** (< *facēre* **fare*): § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *fatz* (< *facio*) *fau* (analogy of *dau*, *estau*) *fac fauc* (§ 161); *fas* (< **fas*); *fatz* (< *facit*) *fa* (< **fat*) *fai* (influence of *faire*, *faim*, *faitz*, and of *trai*); *faim* (< *facīmu'*: § 167, 1) *fam* (< **famu'*) *fazém* (see *fazétz*); *faitz* (< *facītis*) *fatz* (< **fatis*) *fazétz* (analogy of regular verbs, *crezétz*, etc.); *fan* (< **fant*) *faun* (analogy of *daun*, *estaun*). Pres. subjunctive: *faça fassa*, etc. (< *faciam*, etc.). Imperative: *fai* (< *fac*); *fatz faitz* (borrowed from indicative) *fait* (< *facīte*).

(18) **Iazér** (< *jacēre*), also *iassér* (influence of *ias* < *iatz* < *jacet*, and of

iassa?) : *iatz* (< *jacet*) *iai* (analogy of *fai*, *traï*) ; *iassa* (< *jaceam*) *iaia* (analogy of *traia*, *vaia*).

(19) **Movér mœur** (< *movēre* **mōvēre*) : *mova* (< **mōvam* = *mōveam*) *moga* (analogy of *traga*).

(20) **Partir** (< *partire*) : *part* (< **parto* = *partio*) *parc* (§ 161) ; so *parta parga*.

(21) **Perdre** (< *pērdēre*) : *pert perc*, *perda perga* ; see § 161.

(22) **Plazér plaïre** (< *placēre* **placēre*) : *platz* (< *placet*) *plai* (analogy of *fai*, *traï*) ; *plassa* (< *placeam*) *plaia* (analogy of *traia*, *vaia*).

(23) **Podér** (< **potēre* = *pōsse*) : see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative : *posc* (< *pōssum* influenced by *cognōsco*) *puosc puesc* (analogy of *puoc puec* < *pōtūi*), *puecs* (? < **pōts* < **pōtsum* + *puesc*), *pois* (< **pōsseo*) ; *potz* (< *pōtes*) ; *pot* (< **pōtet* = *pōtest*) ; *podēm* (< **potēmu*) ; *podétz* (< **potētis*) ; *póden* (< **potent*) *pódon*, *pon* (analogy of *potz*, *pot*, and *son* < *sūnt*). Pres. subjunctive : *posca puosca puesca* (like *posc puosc puesc*), etc. ; *poissa* (< **pōsseam*), etc.

(24) **Prendre** (*prēndēre* = *prehēndēre*) **penre** (see § 71, end) : *pren* (< *prēndo*) *prenh* (analogy of *tenh*, *venh*) *prenc* (§ 161) ; so *prenda prenha prenga*.

(25) **Rire** (< **rīdēre*) : *ri* (< *rīdet*) *ritz* (analogy of *rizém*, *rizétz* : cf. *aucire*, *auzir*, *caire*, *traïre*, *vezér*) ; *ria* (< *rīdeam*?).

(26) **Sabér** (< **sapēre*) : see § 137, 1. Pres. indicative : *sai sei* (analogy of *ai ei* from *avér*) ; *saps* ; *sap* ; *sabém* (< **sapēmu*) ; *sabétz* (< **sapētis*) ; *sáben* (< **sapēnt*) *sábon*. Pres. subjunctive : *sapcha* (< *sapīant*). Imperative from subjunctive.

(27) **Tazér taïre** (< *tacēre* **tacēre*) : *tatz* (< *tacet*) *tai* (analogy of *taïre* and of *fai*, *traï*).

(28) **Tenér** (< *tenēre*) : *tenh* (< *tēneo*) *tenc* (§ 161) ; so *tenha tenga*.

(29) **Traïre** (< **tragēre*, perhaps also **tracēre*, = *trahēre*) : *trac* (< **trago* or **traco*) *traï* (§ 63, 6)¹ ; *traï* (< **tragit*) *tra* (analogy of *da*, *esta*, *fā*, *va*) *tratz* (< **tracit*?) : cf. *aucire*, *auzir*, *caire*, *rïre*, *vezér*) ; *trázon* (analogy of *tratz*) ; *traga traia* (both < **tragam*).

(30) **Vezér** (< *vidēre*) : *vei* (< *video*) *vec* (§ 161) ; *ve* (< *vīdet*) *ves* (analogy of *vezém*, *vezétz* : cf. *aucire*, *auzir*, *caire*, *rïre*, *traïre*). Imperative from subjunctive.

¹ According to Raimon Vidal, *trac* is the only correct form.

(31) *Volér* (< **volēre* = *vēlle*): see § 137, (1). Pres. indicative: *vuelh* (< **vōleo*); *vols* (< **vōles*); *vol* (< **vōlet*); *volém* (< **volēmu*)¹; *volétz* (< **volētis*); *vólon* (< **vōlent*). Pres. subjunctive: *vuelha* (< **vōleam*), *vuelhas*, *vuelha*, *vulhám*, *vulhátz*, *vuelhan*. Imperative from subjunctive.

163. In verse the present subjunctive ending *-ia* sometimes counts as one syllable: *siátz*. Cf. § 153, 1.

PERSONAL ENDINGS².

164. (1) In the first person singular final *-o* and *-em* regularly disappeared: *amo* > *am*, *amem* > *am*. When, however, the *-o* or *-em* was preceded by a consonant group requiring a supporting vowel (§ 52), the ending was regularly retained as *-e*: *dūbito* > *dopte*, *sūfféro* > *suffre*, *trēmülem* > *tremble*.

Through the analogy of *ai*, *crei*, *dei*, *soi*, *vei*, and the 1st pers. sg. of the preterit, this *-e* was in the indicative generally changed at an early date to *-i*: **cōpéro* > *çoibre çoibri*, **opéro* > *oibre oibri*; so *impleo* **implō* > *ompli*. This *-i* (occasionally *-e*) was then taken as a distinctive ending of the 1st pers. sg., and was added to many verbs that needed no supporting vowel: *auzir*, *au auze*; *azorar*, *azor azori*; *cantar*, *can canti*; *çoire*, *ço çoiri*; *meire*, *mei meiti*; *prezar*, *pretz prezi*; *remirar*, *remir remire remiri*; *respondre*, *respon respondi*; *sentir*, *sen senti*; *vendre*, *ven vendi*.

In the subjunctive, when a final vowel was required, *-e* was usually kept; it was also extended to some verbs that did not need it: *acabe*, *done*, *mire*, *plöre*. Very rarely an unnecessary *-i* was added instead of *-e*: *laissar*, *lais laissi*.

(2) The ending *-am* regularly gave *-a*: *audiam* > *auia*.

¹ *Volemus* occurs repeatedly in 7th century Latin.

² Cf. O. Schmidt, *Ueber die Endungen des Präsens im Altprovenzalischen*, 1887.

165. In the second person singular final *-as* regularly remained, and *-ēs* and *īs* became *-s* (or, when a supporting vowel was required, *-es*): *amas* > *amas*; *valēs* > *vals*, *sapīs* > *saps*, *partīs* > *partz*; *dūbītēs* > *doptes*. Cf. § 82, S. Sometimes, especially in late texts, *-s* is expanded into *-es*: *canz cantes*, *partz partes*, *saps sapes*, *vals vales*; so *floris florisses*, etc.

Final *-a* remained, and *-ĕ* and *-ī* fell: *ama* > *ama*, *tĕne* > *ten*, *crĕde* > *cre*, *partī* > *part*.

166. In the third person singular final *-at* became *-a*, *-ĕt* and *-īt* fell (but remained as *-e* when a supporting vowel was needed): *amat* > *ama*, *amet* > *am*, *tĕnet* > *ten te*, *vĕnit* > *ven ve*; *trĕmūlet* > *tremble*. Cf. § 82, T.

167. In the first person plural the final *-s* disappeared early, *s* being perhaps regarded as a distinctively second person ending¹. The rare form *esmes* = *sūmus* is the only one that retains the *s*: cf. § 162, (15).

Then *-āmu'*, *-ēmu'* gave regularly *-am*, *-em*: *cantāmus* > *cantám*, *habēmus* > *aṽem*. Likewise *-īmu'*, through the analogy of *-āmu'*, *-ēmu'*, came to take the accent on its penult, and then regularly developed into *-em*: *crĕdīmus* **credīmu'* > *crezēm*. This *-em* of the second and third conjugations passed into the fourth, and entirely displaced the *-im* that would have been the regular representative of *-īmu'*: *partīmus* > **partīm partēm*.

1. In *faim* < *factmu'* the old accentuation apparently survives: cf. § 52, (4), 1.

2. In some dialects of Béarn, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, *-m* apparently becomes *-n*: *devĕn*, *havĕn*, *volĕn*; so *aurián*, *trobarĕn*, *segrián* (cf. § 152, 1; § 153, 1). Cf. § 65, M, 1.

¹ The loss of *-s* is not confined to the Provençal territory: it occurs also in western France, Catalonia, and the Engadine.

168. In the second person plural *-ātis* regularly gave *-atz*: *amātis* > *amatz*, *audiātis* > *aiutz*. The regular form from *-ētis* is *-etz*, which we find kept in the future (*veiretz*) and in the present subjunctive (*cantetz*); in the present indicative it was replaced by *-etz*, probably through the analogy of *etz* < *ēstis*: *habētis* > *avetz* *avetz*, **potētis* > *podetz* *podetz*, so *sezetz*, *valetz*, etc.; the rare *avetz* and *podetz* are the only forms that preserve *e*. The ending *-ītis*, taking the accent on its penult (cf. § 167), became **-etz*, then *-etz*: *crēdītis* > *crezetz*. This *-etz* also displaced the *-itz* that would have been regular in the fourth conjugation: *partītis* > *partetz*.

The final *-tz* was reduced, in some of the principal dialects, to *-s* (§ 64): *cantás*, *sezēs*, *partēs*. In other dialects it was replaced very early by *-t* (§ 64): *aiutát*, *avēt*, *passát*, *podēt*; so *partiret*, etc.

1. In *faitz* < *factīs* the old accentuation apparently survives.

169. In the third person plural *-ant*, *-ent*, *-unt* gave respectively *-an* *-ant*, *-en*, *-on* *-o* (§ 83, Nt): *amant* > *áman* *ámant*, *audiant* > *áuian* *áuiant*; *valent* > *válen*, *ament* > *ámen*; *vēndunt* > *vendon* *vendo*. In Languedoc *-an* was replaced by *-on* or *-o* in the 13th century; in other regions, later: *ámon*, *chanto* *l̥s*, *coménso* *l*. The *Boeci* has *-en* for *-an*: *amen*, *monten*. In Gascony and some of the Limousin territory *-en* partially displaced *-on* (*florissen*, *párten*, *venden*), elsewhere *-on* or *-o* displaced *-en* (*válon*).

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE.

170. In the first conjugation *-abam* regularly gave *-ava*. In the second, through the analogy of *aβéa* < *habēbam* (§ 153), *-ēbam* came to be replaced, in southern Gaul, by *-éa*, which regularly changed to *-éa* (§ 26). In the third, *-iēbam* regu-

larly became *-ēbam* (§ 40, 1); and this and original *-ēbam* were replaced by the *-éa > -ía* of the second conjugation. In the fourth, *-ībam*, which had in the accented syllable the characteristic vowel of the conjugation, crowded out *-iēbam*; *-ībam* then lost its *β* through the analogy of the second and third conjugations. We have, then, in Provençal, only two sets of endings: *-áva*, etc., in the first conjugation; *-ía*, etc., in the second, third, and fourth.

amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amávas	vezías	fazías	partías
amáva	vezía	fazía	partía
amavám	veziám	faziám	partiám
amavátz	veziátz	faziátz	partiátz
amávan	vezían	fazían	partían

1. In poetry *ia* is sometimes counted as one syllable: *aviân*, *deviân*.
2. For some subsequent developments of western dialects, see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 326.
3. For the personal endings, see §§ 164-169.
4. *Esser* has: *ęra*, *ęras*, *ęra*, *erám*, *erátz erás*, *ęran ęron ęro*.

PRETERIT, OLD CONDITIONAL, AND IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

171. These parts are all formed from the same stem, that of the Latin perfect: cf. § 141, (2). Ex.: *cantę*, *canęra*, *cantęs*; *vendeęi*, *vendeęra*, *vendeęs*; *partí*, *partíra*, *partís*; *vi*, *vira*, *vis*; *deę*, *deęra*, *deęęs*.

PRETERIT.

172. Preterits which stress the ending throughout are called *weak*; those which do not stress the ending throughout are called *strong*: *partí*, *partíst*, *partí*, *partím*, *partítz*, *partíron* is weak; *saup*, *saubíst*, *saup*, *saubém*, *saubétz*, *sáubron* is strong. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations regularly

have weak preterits (*amei, finí*). Verbs of the second and third, with very few exceptions, originally had strong preterits (*placuí* > *plac*, *fēcī* > *fis*): many of them, however, developed weak preterits either in Vulgar Latin or in Provençal (*irasquei, nasquei, tessei tesquei, visquei*); some assumed a weak form in *-í* in the 1st pers. sg. (*dis dissí, pris prenguí, remas remanguí, trais traguí*: cf. §§ 173, 177); *querre*, on the other hand, substituted a strong preterit (*quis*, etc.) for a weak one.

173. (1) Final *-i*, in the first pers. sg., doubtless remained through the earlier stages of Provençal (*habuí* > *águi, dixí* > *díssi*): cf. § 51, (2). Before it fell, it changed an accented *e* in the preceding syllable to *i* (*vēnī* **vēnuī* > **vengui vinc*): cf. § 27; occasionally, however, the *e* was kept, through the analogy of the other persons (*pris preš*). Sometimes, instead of falling, the *-i* took the accent (following the analogy of the fourth conjugation) and remained: *águi* > *ac* or *aguí, díssi* > *dis* or *dissí* (cf. § 177).

When the *-i* was immediately preceded by an accented vowel, it regularly formed a diphthong with that vowel, and did not fall (*fui* > *füi*): cf. § 51, (3); but *-í* was simplified to *-i* (*partívi partí* > *partí*).

Before enclitic *l*, *-ei -iei* were often reduced to *-e -ie*: *cantie l*.

(2) In the 2d pers. sg., *-stī* became *-st*, a preceding *e* being changed to *i* (§ 27): *partístī* > *partíst*, *debuístī* > *deguíst*; sometimes, through the analogy of the 2d pers. pl., *e* remains (*venguest*: cf. § 27, 2). Occasionally the final *-t* disappears: *anięst anięs, fezíst fezís*.

(3) The *-t* of the 3d pers. sg. was lost in strong preterits: *placuit* > *plac*, *vidit* > *vi*. In weak preterits, it was retained

by most dialects after *é*, and by many after *í*: *donet donę*, *vendet vendeę*; *partí partít*. Cf. § 82, T.

(4) In the 1st pers. pl., *-mus -mu'* (see § 167) was reduced to *-m*: *vidímu' > vim*.

(5) The *-stis* of the 2d pers. pl. regularly became *-tz* (§ 78, 2), later in many dialects *-s* (§ 64): *debuístis > deguețz degues*.

(6) The *-runt* of the 3d pers. pl. regularly gave *-ron* or *-ro* (§ 83, Nt): *partírunt > partíron partíro*, *viděrunt > viron viro*. In some dialects *-en* is substituted for *-on*: *fűerunt > fõron fõren* (cf. § 169).

The *e* before *-runt*, which in classic Latin was usually long, was always short in Vulgar Latin when it was preserved at all: *amavěrunt > amārunt, fēcěrunt*.

WEAK PRETERITS.

174. (1) In the first and fourth conjugations we find in Latin the following endings:—

<i>-āvī</i>	<i>-āī</i>	<i>-āvīmus</i>	<i>-īvī</i>	<i>-īī</i>	<i>-īvīmus</i>					
<i>-āvīstī</i>	<i>-āstī</i>	<i>-āvīstis</i>	<i>-īvīstī</i>	<i>-īstī</i>	<i>-īvīstis</i>	<i>-īstis</i>				
<i>-āvīt</i>	<i>-aut</i>	<i>-āvēre</i>	<i>-āvērunt</i>	<i>-ārunt</i>	<i>-īvīt</i>	<i>-īīt</i>	<i>-īīt</i>	<i>-īvēre</i>	<i>-īvērunt</i>	<i>-īrunt</i>

The popular speech preferred in every case the shortened form, and generally reduced *-āvīmus*, *-īvīmus* to *-āmus*, *-īmus* (in southern Gaul *-āmu'*, *-īmu'*: § 167), on the analogy of the 2d pers. sg. and pl.

(2) In the second conjugation a few verbs (*delēre*, *flēre*, *nēre*, *olēre*, *-plēre*, *viēre*) had similar endings (*delēvī*, etc.), which were doubtless contracted in like fashion in so far as these words were in common use. Most verbs of this conjugation, however, had strong preterits (*tacēre*, *tacūī*; *vidēre*, *vidīī*; etc.).

(3) The third conjugation had in classic Latin no weak endings corresponding to those of the first, second, and fourth; but the vulgar speech developed a set in the following manner. Compounds of *dare* formed their perfect in *-dīdī* (*perdīdī*); this *-dīdī*, in accordance with the principle set forth in § 16, 3, came to be pronounced *-dēdī* (*condēdī*); and *-dēdī*, probably through dissimilation¹, was shortened to *-dēi* (**credēi*). With this form as a starting-point, a weak preterit was created on the analogy of those of the other conjugations, the endings being something like *-ēi*, *estī*, *-ēt*, *-emus -emu'*, *-estis*, *-erunt*. This inflection was probably extended to some verbs outside the *-dēre* class (**battēi*, etc.?).

175. (1) In Provençal the weak inflection disappeared from the second conjugation, *delēre* and *-plēre* passing into the fourth, and the other weak verbs going out of use.

(2) Verbs of the fourth conjugation (except *venir*) all took the weak endings *-ī*, *-īst*, *-ī*, *-īm*, *-ītz*, *-īron*: *partī*, *partīst*, *partī*, *partīm*, *partītz*, *partīron*. Irregular verbs either disappeared or became regular (*sensī* = *sentī*), with the exception of *venīre* > *venir* (*vinc*).²

(3) The new weak endings of the third conjugation developed into *-ēi*, *-est*, *-ēt*, *-ém*, *-ētz*, *-eron*: *vendēi*, *vendēst*, *vendēt*, *vendém*, *vendētz*, *vendēron*. In the 1st pers. sg. the *ē* often broke (*vendiēi*), and the diphthong was sometimes carried into the 2d pers. sg. (*vendiēst*). These endings were considerably extended in Provençal (*cazēt*, etc.), and were occasionally attached to a strong preterit stem (*nasquet*, *tesquet*, *venquet*, *visquet*). Most verbs, however, kept their

¹ Cf. the reduction of *habēbam* to *aβea*: § 153.

² *Tenēr tenīr* really belongs to the second conjugation.

strong preterit (mis, conoç). The *-īvī* perfect disappeared from the third conjugation: *quāsīvit* > **quāsīt* > *quēs*.

(4) The first conjugation discarded its own weak endings, and substituted those of the third: *cantēi cantieï, cantęst cantieșt, cantęt, cantém, cantętz, canțeron*. This strange phenomenon seems to have originated as follows: *dare, dęđi* > *dar, deï*; from *dar* the ending *-ęi* was readily extended to *estar (esteï)*; and from these two very common verbs it spread to the whole first conjugation.

Irregular verbs (except *dare, stare*) either disappeared or became regular.

1. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, p. 304, Latin *-ai* became by phonetic process *-ęi* in Vulgar Latin, and *-ęi* or *-ieï* in Provençal. There seems to be no evidence to support this theory. Cf. § 23, 2.

2. In the dialects of Béarn and Catalonia the original *a* remains in some parts of the preterit.

176. A final *-c*, which developed in the strong *-ui* preterits (§ 184), often became attached to the 3d pers. sg. of weak preterits of the fourth conjugation: *floric, fugic, iauzic, partic*.¹ It was sometimes extended to other weak preterits: *chantęc, entendęc, nasquec*,² *parec*.³ We find also a 3d pers. pl. *cațeron*, etc., and even a 1st pers. sg. *ameguí*, etc. In some western dialects the final *-c* was adopted by the whole first conjugation: *donec, portęc*, etc.

177. Some strong preterits occasionally assumed weak endings:—

(1) In the 1st pers. sg. several verbs in *-s* sometimes either added an *-í* or shifted the stress to an originally unaccented

¹ According to Raimon Vidal, this is the regular ending of the 3d pers. sg. of the fourth conjugation.

² In *nasquec* the *ui* ending occurs twice.

³ Beside *parec*, coming perhaps from a V. L. **paręvit* **paręvuit*.

final -i (cf. §§ 172, 173): *dis dissí, pris presí, quis quesí, respos respozí*. A few verbs in -c did the same: *aic aiguí, bec beguí, conoc conoguí, saup saubí, vinc venguí, vòlc volguí*. An ending -guí being thus established, this syllable was sometimes added to preterits not of the -c class: *costrenguí, destrenguí, prenguí, remanguí, restrenguí, traguí*.

(2) In the 3d pers. sg. weak endings are rare: *ac aguè, vèc venguè*.

(3) In the 3d pers. pl. the weak ending is not uncommon in -s preterits: *diron disseron, düistrent düisseron, mesdren mezeron, preson preseron, remastrent remazeron, traisseron*. We probably have to deal here, as in (1), with a shift of accent—*dixērunt* > **dísseron* > *disseron*, etc.: see § 49, (2). The same thing may be true of such a form as *aguèron*, beside *ágron*, from **áβwerunt* = *habuērunt*; such a form as *visqueron*, on the other hand, is doubtless imitative.

STRONG PRETERITS.

178. (1) The reduplicative perfects were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of *dēdi* (and its compounds) and *stēti*, whose reduplicative character was no longer apparent. *Cecidī* became **cadui* or **cadéi*; the rest either disappeared or passed into the -sī class: *cucūrrī* > **cūrsī*, *momōrdī* > **mōrsī*, *pepēndī* > **pē(n)sī*, *pupūgī* > **punsī*, *tetēndī* > **tē(n)sī*, *tetēgī* > **taxī* **tanxī*.

(2) The -i perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some disappeared (*ēgī*), some became weak (*fūgī* > **fugī* > *fūgí*); others passed into the -sī or the -uī class: *prehēndī* > **prē(n)sī* > *pris*; *bībit* > **bībuit* > *bec*, *vēnit* > **vēnuit* > *venc*. In Provençal only three -ī verbs remained: *fēcī* > *fis*, *fuī* > *fūi*, *vīdī* > *vi*.

(3) Of the *-sī* class (including *-ssī* and *-xī*) over twenty verbs were preserved in Vulgar Latin (*dīxī*, *excūssī*, *mīsī*, *traxī*, etc.), and about the same number passed into this class from others (*absco(n)sī*, **fraxī* **sūrsī*, etc.): cf. (1) and (2) above. In Provençal nearly half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-sī* preterits: *rema(n)sī* > *remas*, **respō(n)sī* > *respos*¹.

(4) The *-uī* class held its own very well in Vulgar Latin (*placuī*, etc.) and received some additions (*natus sum* > **nacuī*, *sustūlī* > **tōluī*, *venī* > **vēnuī*, *vīcī* > **vīncuī*, *vīxī* > **vīscuī*, etc.)². To this class belonged, in Vulgar Latin (and, according to Meyer-Lübke³, in classic Latin also), all perfects in *-vī*, this ending being pronounced *-wūi*, later *-wwi* or *-βwi*: *cognōvī* > **conōvuī* > *conoc*, *crēvit* > **crēvuit* > *crec*, *mōvī* > **mōvuī* > *moc*. Cf. § 148. In Provençal not far from half the verbs of the second and third conjugations have *-uī* preterits. For a combination of a *-c* < *-uī* stem with a weak ending, see § 175, (3). For the extension of *-c* < *-uī* to other conjugations, see § 176.

179. In the 1st pers. pl. the accent was shifted to the ending, to make this form correspond to the 2d pers. sg. and pl.: *fēcīmus* > **fēcīmu'* > *fezem* (cf. *fecistī* > *fezist*, *fecistis* > *fezetz*), **prē(n)sīmus* > **presīmu'* > *prezem*, *debūimus* > *deβwīmu'* > *deguem*. Exceptions are *fūimus* > *fom*, *vidīmus* >

¹ All verbs in *-ndēre* took the perfect in *-sī*: *ascos*, *aucis*, *pris*, *respos*, etc. *Lēgēre* took **lēxī* > *leis* through the analogy of the p. p. *lēctum*. So *fīngēre* took **fīxī* > *feis* through *fīctum*; *frangēre*, *pīngēre*, *tangēre* did likewise (*frais*, *peis*, *tais*); and in Provençal *cēnher* < *cīngēre*, *estēnher* < *exstīnguēre*, *plānher* < *plāngēre* followed the example of these (*ceis*, *esteis*, *plais*): hence all verbs in *-nher* have the preterit in *-s*.

² See *Zs.*, XXVIII, 97.

³ *Gram.*, II, p. 357.

vim; in these verbs the 2d pers. forms also are monosyllabic (füst, fõt; vist, vitz).

180. We find in some verbs an irregular 3d pers. pl. without -r-, made by adding -on or -en to the 3d pers. sg., the final consonant of which is voiced in all verbs in which it is voiced in the other persons of the plural: (aucire) aucis, aucison; (plánher) plais, pláisson; (prenre) preş, preşon; (remanre) remas, remáson; (venir) venc, venguen; (voler) volc, volgon.

1. *Prenre* has *preiron* (beside *preşon preşeron*), probably through the analogy of *feiron* < *fēcērun*. *Mairon*, from *maner*, is perhaps to be explained in the same way.

181. (1) Through the change of -e- to -i- by the influence of a final -ī, as described in § 173, (1), a distinction was established between the first and the third person singular of some preterits: *crēvī* > *cric*, *crēvit* > *creç*; *fēcī* > *fis*, *fēcit* > *feş*; **prē(n)sī* > *pris*, **prē(n)sit* > *preş*; *tēnuī* **tēnuī*¹ > *tinc*, *tēnuit* **tēnuit* > *tenc*; *vēnī* **vēnuī*¹ > *vinc*, *vēnit* **vēnuit* > *venc*. *Metre*, also, has *mis*, *meş*, which may come from **mīssī* **mīssit* (cf. *mīssum*) = *mīsī*, *mīsīt*; or perhaps *mis* comes from *mīsī* and *meş* is analogical. Through the analogy of such forms, *querre* has *quis*, *queş*. In the preterit of *poder*, both *pōtuī* and *pōtuit* would regularly have given *poç puoç puę* (§ 37), but *poç* was kept for the 3d person, and *puoç puę* was used for the 1st. The preterit of *voler* differentiates the two persons similarly — *vuęc*, *volc*; here the diphthong (perhaps under the influence of *puę*) is borrowed from the present, where we have **vōleo* > *vuęlh*, **vōlet* > *vōl* (§ 37). *Aver*, likewise, borrows a distinction from the present: *aic*, *ac* reproduce the vowels of *ai*, *a*; *aic* + *aguí* > *aiguí*.

¹ *Tēnuī* and *vēnī* influenced each other.

(2) For *-í* as a characteristic of the first person, see § 177, (1).

(3) For *-c* as a distinctive mark of the third person, see § 176.

182. The three *-ī* perfects developed in Provençal as follows: —

(1) *Facēre* > *faire* (**fare* > *far*) has:

<i>fēcī</i>	> <i>fis, fezi</i>	<i>fēcīmus *fēcīmu'</i>	> <i>fezem</i>
<i>fēcīstī</i>	> <i>fezist fezis</i>	<i>fēcīstis</i>	> <i>fezetz fezes</i>
<i>fēcīt</i>	> <i>fetz feş</i>	<i>fēcērunt</i>	> <i>feiron feïro</i>

1. We do not find, in the 1st pers. sg., as we should expect (§ 65, C'), *fitz* beside *fis*; doubtless the form came early under the influence of *mis*, *pris*, *quis*, etc. For *fezi*, see § 177, (1). There is also a form *fi*, due, perhaps, to the analogy of *vi* < *vīdī*; corresponding to *fi* are 3d pers. sg. *fe*, and pl. *fem*, *fes*, *feron*. A rare *figuí* is evidently made on the model of *aiguí*, etc. In the 3d pers. sg. we find also *fei*, which seems to be patterned after *feiron* or after the present *fai*.

(2) *Esse* (> **ēssēre* > *esser* *estre*) had originally a long *u* in the perfect. In literary Latin the *u* was shortened, but the popular speech seems to have kept *ū* beside *ŭ*. The Provençal 1st and 2d pers. sg. apparently come from *fūī*, **fūstī* = *fuīstī* (although Pr. *fūi* might be taken from *fūī*), while the other forms presuppose *ŭ*:

<i>fūī</i>	> <i>fūi</i>	<i>fūīmus *fūīmu'</i>	> <i>fom</i>
<i>fūīstī *fūstī</i>	> <i>fūst fūs</i>	<i>fūīstis *fūstis</i>	> <i>fotz fōs</i>
<i>fūīt</i>	> <i>fō, fōn, fōnc</i>	<i>fūērunt *fūrunt</i>	> <i>fōron fōro, fōren</i>

1. A rare *fō* in the 1st pers. sg. seems to be simply borrowed from the 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *fōn* beside *fō* is due to the analogy of *-on -o* in the 3d pers. pl., and, in general, of such double forms as *bon bo, mon mo, son so, ton to*: cf. § 63, (5). *Fōnc* shows the influence of *tenc, venc*.

(3) *Vidēre* > *vezer* has:

<i>vīdī</i>	> * <i>viđī *viđ vi, vic</i>	<i>vīdīmus *vīdīmu'</i>	> * <i>viđmu *viim vim</i>
<i>vīdīstī</i>	> <i>vist vis</i>	<i>vīdīstis</i>	> <i>vitz vis</i>
<i>vīdīt</i>	> * <i>viđ vi, vit, vic</i>	<i>vīdērunt</i>	> * <i>viđrun viron viro</i>

1. The 1st pers. sg. *vic* is patterned upon *aic* < *habuī*, *cric* < *crēvi*, etc. The 2d pers. forms are irregular, as we should expect **vezist*, **vezetz*: evidently the 2d pers. followed the analogy of the 1st and 3d. In the 3d pers. sg., *vit* and *vic* follow the model of *partit*, *partic*, etc.: see § 173, (3), and § 176.

183. In the *-sī* perfect the 3d pers. pl. presented difficulties. If the *-e-* of the penult fell, an *s* or *z* and an *r* were brought together. Most dialects apparently preserved the *-e-*, and shifted the accent to it (*aucizeṛon*, *condüisṛon*, *dissṛon*, *prezeṛon*, *remazeṛon*, *traisseṛon*), or else borrowed outright the weak ending (*respondeṛon*): cf. § 49, (2), and § 177, (3). Dialects which lost the *-e-* too early to follow this method, generally suppressed the sibilant (*aucíron*, *díron*, *mṛon* from *mṛe*, *remáron*), or omitted the *-r-* and formed the 3d pers. pl. directly from the 3d pers. sg. (*aucízon*, *pláisson*, *prezon*, *remázon*: § 180), or else imitated a preterit of another class (*mairon* from *manṛ*, *preiron* from *preṛe*, doubtless patterned after *feiron* < *fēcṛerunt*); some borderland dialects kept the sibilant and the *r*, and developed a dental between them (*düystrent* < *dūxṛerunt*, *mṛedren* < *mīṛerunt* + **mīssṛerunt*: § 70, Sr, Zr).

As examples of the *-sī* perfect we may take the preterit of *dire* < *dīcṛere* and *penre preṛe* < *pr(eh)ṛendṛe*: —

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) <i>dīxī</i> | > dis, dissí | <i>dīxīmus</i> * <i>dīxīmu'</i> | > disṛem |
| <i>dīxīstī</i> | > dissíst | <i>dīxīstis</i> | > disṛetz disṛes |
| <i>dīxit</i> | > dis | <i>dīxṛerunt</i> | > disṛeron, díron díro |
| (2) * <i>prē(n)sī</i> | > pris, preṛ, presí | * <i>prē(n)sīmus</i> * <i>prēsīmu'</i> | > preṛem |
| * <i>prē(n)sīstī</i> | > presíst | * <i>prē(n)sīstis</i> | > preṛetz preṛes |
| * <i>prē(n)sit</i> | > preṛ | * <i>prē(n)sṛerunt</i> | > preṛeron, preṛon,
[preiron |

(3) *Escriure* < *scrībṛere* has, beside *escriis* < *scrīpsī*, a preterit *escrius* (cf. p. p. *escriut* *escriut* *escrich*), in which the *u* is probably due to the influence of the infinitive.

(4) For *dissí*, *presí*, *quesí*, *respozí*, see § 177, (1). For *pris preš*, etc., see § 173, (1).

184. In the *-uī* perfect the development depends somewhat upon the consonant preceding the *u*. The treatment of the various cons. + *w* groups, which was discussed in § 72, may be illustrated by *habuit* > *ac*¹, *crēvit* **crēvuit* > *creç*²; *nōcuit* > *noç*³; *sēdit* **sēduīt* > *seç*, *pōtuit* > *poç*; *valuīt* > *valc*⁴, *tēnuīt* **tēnuīt* > *teñc*⁵, *mēruīt* > *mērc*; *sapuīt* > *saup*⁶: the noteworthy features are the change of *u* to *-c* (through *w*, *gw*, *g*), the absorption of the preceding consonant unless it be a liquid, a nasal, or a *p*, the preservation of the liquid or nasal, and the metathesis of the *p*.

Aver < *habēre*, *poder* < **pōtēre pōsse*, *voler* < **vōlēre velle*, *saber* < **sapēre sapēre* will serve as examples (for the accentuation of the 3d pers. pl., see § 16, 2): —

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>habuī</i> > <i>ac</i> , <i>aguī</i> , <i>aic</i> , <i>aiguī</i> | <i>habuīmus</i> * <i>aβwīmu'</i> > <i>aguēm</i> |
| <i>habuīstī</i> > <i>aguīst</i> | <i>habuīstis</i> > <i>aguētz aguēs</i> |
| <i>habuīt</i> > <i>ac</i> | <i>habuērunt</i> > <i>ágron ágro</i> , <i>aguēron</i> |

1. For *aguī* (*beguī*, *conoguī*), see § 177, (1). For *aic*, *aiguī*, (*cric*), see § 181, (1). For *aguēron* (*visquēron*), see § 177, (3).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (2) <i>pōtuī</i> > <i>poç</i> <i>puoç</i> <i>puēç</i> | <i>potuīmus</i> * <i>potwīmu'</i> > <i>poguēm</i> |
| <i>potuīstī</i> > <i>poguīst</i> | <i>potuīstis</i> > <i>poguētz poguēs</i> |
| <i>pōtuit</i> > <i>poç</i> , <i>pōt</i> | <i>potuērunt</i> > <i>pōgron pōgro</i> |

1. For *puoç*, see § 181, (1). *Pot* is apparently due to the combined influence of weak preterits and the parts of *poder* in which the dental is preserved.

¹ So *bīhuīt* > *bec*, *dehuīt* > *dec*.

² So *cognōvīt* > *conoc*, *mōvīt* > *moc*.

³ So **çduīt* > *coc*, *jacuīt* > *iac*, **nascuīt* > *nasc*, **pa(s)cuīt* > *pac*, *placuīt* > *plac*, *tacuīt* > *tac*, **tescuīt* > *tesc*, **vīncuīt* > *venc*, **vīscuīt* > *visc*.

⁴ So *caluīt* > *calc*, **toluīt* > *tolc*, *vōluīt* > *volc*.

⁵ So **vēnuīt* > *venc*.

⁶ So *erīpuīt* > *ereup*, *recīpuīt* > *receup*.

- (3) *vòluī* > vòlc, vuc̄lc, volguí *voluimus *volwimu'* > volguem
voluīstī > volguīst *voluīstis* > volguetz volguēs
vòluit > vòlc *voluērunt* > vòlgron vòlgrō

1. For *vuc̄lc* (*tinc, vinc*), see § 181, (1); for *volguí* (*venguí*), § 177, (1).

- (4) *sapuī* > saup, saubí *sapuimus *sapwimu'* > saubem
sapuīstī > saubīst *sapuīstis* > saubetz saubēs
sapuīt > saup *sapuērunt* > sáubron sáubro, sáupron

1. For *saubí*, see § 177, (1). For *sáupron* (*sáupra, saupés, saupút*), see § 65, P, 3; cf. § 148, (2).

OLD CONDITIONAL.

185. The old conditional came from the Latin pluperfect indicative, which had been supplanted in its pluperfect sense by a compound form, and was gradually restricted in its use to the functions of a preterit, a perfect conditional, and a simple conditional: see § 141, (2). In Provençal it had only the conditional meaning; and as the new conditional rendered it superfluous, it fell into disuse (with the exception of *ágra* and *fora*) in the 13th and 14th centuries: see § 142, (2).

186. In the fourth conjugation the old conditional comes from the contracted form of the pluperfect (*audīram* < *audī-vēram*). Weak verbs of the third conjugation constructed a similar form (**venderam*). First conjugation verbs started with the contracted pluperfect (*amāram* < *amāvēram*), but in Provençal substituted *ę* for *á*, as in the preterit: § 175, (4). The Provençal types of the old conditional of weak verbs are, therefore, represented by: *ameřa, vendera, auzíra*. The inflection is as follows: —

<i>ameřa</i>	<i>amerám</i>	<i>auzíra</i>	<i>auzirám</i>
<i>ameřas</i>	<i>amerátz</i>	<i>auzíras</i>	<i>auzirátz</i>
<i>ameřa</i>	<i>ameřan</i>	<i>auzíra</i>	<i>auzíran</i>

187. Strong verbs of the *-ī* and the *-uī* classes regularly

took their old conditional directly from the Latin pluperfect: *fēcēram* > *feira*, *füēram* > *foira*, *vīdēram* > *vira*; *habüēram* **áβ-wēram* (§ 16, 2) > *ágra*, *pōtūēram* > *poira*, *vōlūēram* > *voira*, *sapūēram* > *sáubra* *sáupra* (§ 65, P, 3). Of course the Latin pluperfect, and therefore the Provençal conditional, followed the shift of the perfect if it changed from one class to another: *vēnī* > **vēnūi*, hence **vēnūēram* > *veira*. The inflection is as follows: —

<i>foira</i>	<i>forám</i>	<i>ágra</i>	<i>agrám</i>
<i>foiras</i>	<i>forátz forás</i>	<i>ágras</i>	<i>agrátz agrás</i>
<i>foira</i>	<i>foiran</i>	<i>ágra</i>	<i>ágran</i>

1. *Faire* has *fēra* (cf. *feron*) beside *fēira*.
2. For *sáupra*, cf. § 148, (2), and § 184, (4), 1, and § 192.
3. *Devér* has beside *dēgra* a form *deura*, evidently influenced by the new conditional, *deurta*.
4. *Páisser*, *plazér* have beside *págra*, *plágra* the forms *paisséra*, *plazéra*.

188. Strong verbs of the *-sī* class regularly form their old conditional on the same plan as the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit (§ 183): (*dīxēram*) *díra*, cf. *díron*; (**prēsēram*) *preira*, cf. *preiron*; (*arsēram*) *arsera*, cf. *arseron*.

189. It will be noted that in all verbs, weak and strong, the old conditional may be constructed from the 3d pers. pl. of the preterit by changing *-on* to *-a*.

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

190. The Provençal imperfect subjunctive came from the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, which in Vulgar Latin assumed the functions of the imperfect and generally displaced it, its own place having been taken by a compound form: see § 141, (2).

191. For weak verbs the basis was the contracted form of the first and fourth conjugations (*amāssem* < *amāvīssem*, *audīssem* < *audīvīssem*); weak verbs of third conjugation had a similar analogical form (**vēndēssem*). First conjugation verbs substituted *ę* for *á*, as in the perfect and the old conditional: § 175, (4); § 186. The Provençal types are: *ameş*, *vendęş*, *auzís*. The inflection is:

<i>ameş</i>	<i>amessęm</i>	<i>auzís</i>	<i>auzissęm</i>
<i>ameşses</i>	<i>amessętz -ęş</i>	<i>auzísşes</i>	<i>auzissętz -ęş</i>
<i>ameş</i>	<i>ameşsen -on -o</i>	<i>auzís</i>	<i>auzísşen -on -o</i>

192. Strong verbs regularly made their imperfect directly from the Vulgar Latin form of the pluperfect: *fecíssem* > *fezeş*, *fűíssem* **fűssem* > *foş*, *vidíssem* > *vezeş*, *veníssem* **venuíssem* > *vengueş*; *dixíssem* > *disseş*, **pre(n)síssem* > *prezeş*; *habuíssem* > *agueş*, *potuíssem* > *pogueş*, *voluíssem* > *volgueş*, *sapuíssem* > *saubeş saupeş* (§ 65, P, 3). The inflection is: —

<i>foş</i>	<i>fosseşm</i>	<i>agueş</i>	<i>aguessęm, acseşm</i>
<i>foşses</i>	<i>fosseştz -ęş</i>	<i>agueşses</i>	<i>aguessętz -ęş, acseştz -ęş</i>
<i>foş</i>	<i>fosseşen -on -o</i>	<i>agueş</i>	<i>aguessęsen -on -o</i>

1. The syncopated forms in the 1st and 2d pers. pl. are common to the *-uī* class: *decseşm*, *iacseşm*, *pocseşm*, *saupseşm*.

2. In the 3d pers. pl. *-an* sometimes takes the place of *-en* or *-on*: *mezeşsan*, *saubeşsan*. This ending is doubtless borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional.

3. *Vezér* has *vis* beside *vezés*. From *faire* we find in the 3d pers. pl. *fěsson*.

4. *Metre* has *mezeş*, *due*, no doubt, to the analogy of *mes* and of *prezeş*.

193. Some dialects have an ending *-a*, *-as*, *-a*, *-ám*, *-átz*, *an*, borrowed from the present subjunctive and the old conditional, but added to the stem of the imperfect subjunctive: *chantęssa*, *vendęssa*, *floríssa*; *foşsa*.

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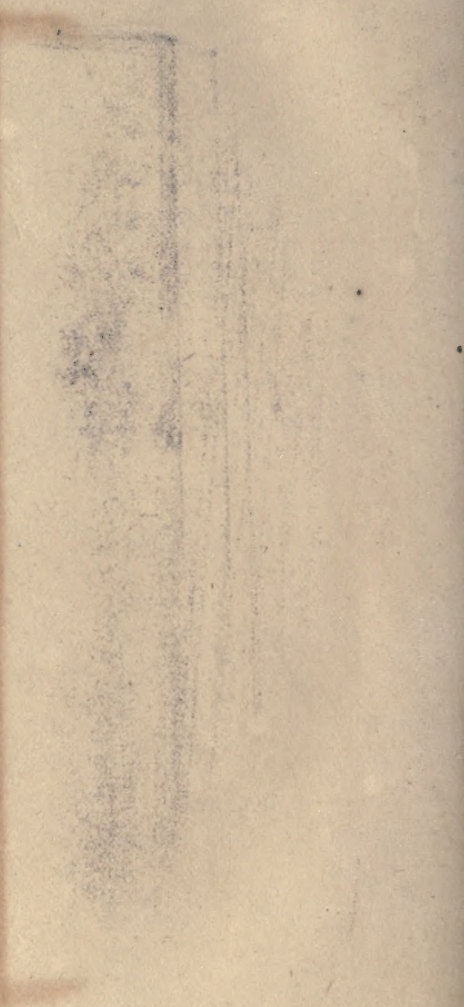
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